

Mental landscapes of colonization: The ancient written sources and the archaeology of early colonial-Greek southeastern Italy¹

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1. INTRODUCTION

The written sources concerning ancient Greece and Italy and their interpretations have long been the domain of the historian. However, artefacts and other traces of human behaviour, as well as images of the past that may be derived from them, have often been considered to be the prerogative of the archaeologists. As a result of increasing specialization, these branches of the *Altertumswissenschaft* had been growing apart for most of the 20th century. Each independently produced its own images of Greek and Roman pasts. This is one of the most famous and long-lasting 'Great Divides' in the ancient world of the Mediterranean (cf. Renfrew 1980; Morris 2000).

This Great Divide between ancient history and archaeology, its backgrounds and its drawbacks has been discussed at length by various authors (recently: Morris 2000, 41). It is now generally acknowledged that much can be gained by consulting both types of source in studies of the ancient world. Often, they each supply information that concerns the same past. Ideally, the confrontation between the ancient view of the ancient past and archaeologists' scholarly view of the same events would produce a much deeper insight into the societies concerned than can be obtained by studying each of these sources individually. In this particular field, the archaeologies of 'historical' periods – 'Classical' or 'Mediterranean' archaeology among them – have a distinct advantage over other, so-called 'prehistoric' archaeologies.

Bridging this Great Divide by integrating the archaeological data with the information from ancient written sources, however, appears to be quite difficult. Obviously, the nature and the characteristics of each type of source may differ radically. The scholar who wishes to perform the arduous task of integrating them, probably does so at the risk of having to chair a debate in which the participants speak entirely different languages. Robin Osborne's *Greece in the Making* (1996) is a truly noble effort in this field, but even his narrative fails to achieve the full integration of both written sources and archaeological sources on the early Greek world.²

The presence of this traditional Great Divide between historians and archaeologists did not imply that classical archaeologists actually neglected the information supplied by Greek and Roman writers. Quite the contrary in fact. The vast majority of these scholars had a very solid 'classical' background. Therefore they usually had a perfect knowledge of the ancient sources regarding their particular field of research. In several cases, they even went so far as to interpret the archaeological evidence in the light of these written sources. The statements of ancient authors about the past had to be corroborated by archaeological evidence. In the worst cases, archaeological features and artefacts (in the widest possible sense of the word) were reduced to mere illustrations of an ancient history that was mainly based on critical analyses of evidence from ancient written sources.

This point can be illustrated by numerous cases. A famous case in southern Italy can be found in the reports on the site of *Cannae* in the northern part of present-day Apulia (now: Canne della Battaglia). A large, 'poor' and somewhat chaotically arranged

¹ I am very grateful to Jan-Paul Crielaard, Gert-Jan Burgers, Ton Derks and Ted Robinson for reading the drafts and commenting upon the text. I wish, moreover, to thank Francesco D'Andria and Mario Lombardo (Lecce University) for discussing with me various topics related with a series of passages in this paper. Of course, none of them can be held responsible for the views expressed in this paper. The drawings were prepared by Bert Brouwenstijn, Institute of Archaeology, Free University of Amsterdam with the use of Adobe Illustrator (license nr. AAD 800S7000001-999-917) and Photoshop (license nr. PSD 500S7000001-999-287). Scale of the drawings with pottery fragments 1:3. The English text was corrected by the Free University Language Centre.

² The first six chapters of Osborne's *Greece in the Making* dealing with the earliest period rest predominantly on archaeological evidence (if only because the written sources are often extremely limited for the period concerned). The part on the 6th/early 5th century phases (especially the chapters 7-9), however, is primarily based on written sources, although the archaeological evidence on these Archaic phases of Greek history is rather abundant and, moreover, published in a reasonably accessible manner. In these chapters the archaeological data and the images derived from them are not on equal footing with the written sources and sometimes convey the impression of functioning basically as illustrations of a narrative which is predominantly drawn from an excellent analysis of the ancient authors' texts.

necropolis was found here in the 1930s. It was interpreted as a hastily made cemetery for Roman victims of the famous Hannibalic battle of *Cannae* in 216 BC, even though some of the stone slabs covering the graves displayed a Christian cross (Gervasio 1938 and 1939). Of course, further research showed that the graveyard actually dated from the Middle Ages (Tinè Bertocchi 1960). The medieval *Cannae* graveyard is certainly one of the more extreme cases of archaeological interpretation based on (and biased by) ancient written sources. This is quite understandable at a time when the Mussolinian *Romanità* played such an important ideological role. However, many more examples of such biased interpretations can be cited. Another famous case from southern Italy concerns the interpretation of stratigraphies at the site of Torre Saturo (identified with the Greek *Satyrion*) near the Greek colony of Taras (see sections 3.6 and 4.3 below). These two examples make it clear that the ancient written sources often played an important, if not dominant role in the explanations of archaeological features. Classical archaeologists usually carried the works of classical authors in their rucksack and knew many passages by heart. It is obvious that the writings of the Greek and Roman authors were – consciously or unconsciously – held in high esteem by the classical-trained archaeologists of Mediterranean areas. Accordingly, these texts often exerted a very considerable influence over their interpretations.

Of course, the evidence unearthed during excavations did not always tie in with the ancient written sources. That wasn't usually a serious problem, after all ancient authors were surely capable of making mistakes and may even have contradicted one another occasionally. Whenever there were blatantly obvious discrepancies between ancient written traditions and the pictures supplied by the interpretations of archaeological field work, however, every effort was made to explain them away. The statements of ancient authors were more or less sacrosanct, while archaeological evidence is usually patchy and subject to a range of interpretations. Therefore, in the event of clear discrepancy between the sources, the latter was usually re-shaped to fit into the mould created by the written sources. In this way, archaeological evidence has often been mis-treated in order to confirm and illustrate the contents of texts composed by ancient authors.

Cases in which archaeological evidence was reorganized and re-shaped in order to fit the mould of information supplied by the ancient written sources are quite common. They can be found in many, if not all phases of ancient Greek, Roman and other

more or less contemporary Mediterranean societies. There is, however, reason to suppose that the tensions between the information supplied by ancient authors and the images constructed on the basis of archaeological evidence will be much greater for 'proto-historical' situations. At this point it is important to explain and define this term. The word 'proto-history' has often been used to indicate a phase of Europe's past (and sometimes that of other continents too) for which there is only a limited set of written sources. These writings, moreover, have often been composed by people who were not part of the societies about which they wrote. Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*, for instance, describes 'proto-historical' situations. He gives us a series of glimpses into the late La Tène world of the three Gauls. Caesar, however, was an outsider to the Gallic world and his writings are among the very few written sources about the Gauls of the 1st century BC. His evidence concerning the late La Tène world of Gaul – though it shows a good understanding of those foreign groups – must be used with the utmost caution. The satires of the Roman poet Juvenal, on the other hand, are 'historical' sources. They give us a contemporary and rather intimate picture of Roman daily life. His writings, moreover, are by no means the only source of information on this subject. There is abundance of written sources on various sectors of the Roman world in which Roman views, ideas and perceptions on a great number of topics are aired by people who were definitely part of Roman society. Hence it follows that several phases and quite a number of aspects of the Roman world (especially the region at its geographical centre) can be designated as 'historical' situations.

This paper will address one particular aspect of the many conflicts between ancient written sources and archaeological evidence. We will focus on one of the 'proto-historical' phenomena, the early phases of what is commonly called the 'Greek colonization'. There is a very limited set of more or less contemporary sources (e.g., Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus). The vast majority of ancient authors who wrote on the Greek diaspora of the 8th and 7th centuries BC lived in a much later period. It is on their stories that the historical narrative of early Greek colonization is founded.

These later authors were describing or commenting upon events that had taken place at least a century previously and often much earlier than that. These happened, moreover, in a period when literacy was not yet widespread in the Greek world. For all these reasons, the Greek authors of the 6th century BC and later times who wrote about early Greek colonization can clearly be considered to be outsiders to the 'colonization' period. The information they sup-

plied concerned societies that differed very significantly from their own world in terms of views and values, as well as economic and socio-political systems, for example. The information contained in their writings must first have been transmitted orally for quite a considerable time. These events happened long before these later authors recorded them. The version (or versions) dating from one or more centuries after the birth of the *apoikia* may, therefore, have been subject to substantial transformations during the interval between the actual events they purport to describe and the moment of writing. This notwithstanding, the much later 'official' version may well contain traces of things that actually happened during the earliest years of the settlement. In view of what has been said above, however, separating fact from fiction in the foundation stories may prove to be very difficult and, perhaps, irrelevant.

The chances of finding substantial discrepancies between both types of sources are likely to be particularly good in this period of Greek societies. An analysis of these discrepancies and a search for the reasons behind them may well give a better insight into the character of the relationship between ancient written sources and archaeological sources on proto-historic situations. This particularly applies to the periods and situations designated as Greek pre-colonization and early colonization. The discussion below, therefore, concerns situations in which people living in a historical period look back at their own proto-historical past, including their real or perceived origins.

2. STUDIES IN GREEK COLONIZATION

Greek colonization has always fascinated archaeologists and historians alike. The fact that a relatively small core area in the Aegean (consisting of present-day central and southern Greece and the west coast of Asia Minor) expanded enormously in the comparatively short time between the middle of the 8th and the middle of the 6th century BC, simply cries out for explanations and debate. The Greek diaspora of this period, therefore, has spawned a huge bibliography. However, it is not possible to cover every aspect of this matter in the present paper. It will suffice simply to sketch out some very general lines of the colonization debate and to focus on the earliest phases of the various Greek transmarine enterprises (the *ktiseis* and the early years of the new settlements). As has been indicated above, both the ancient written evidence and the excavational data will come up for discussion.

It would, of course, be going too far to discuss every Greek transmarine venture in the Iron Age Mediterranean. In the discussions below we shall focus on southeastern Italy. The area was selected for this purpose because it has produced a mass of new, highly interesting archaeological evidence over the past twenty years. It may, therefore, supply a useful case study, but it will not and cannot be taken as a model for Greek colonization in other parts of the Mediterranean. It may, however, contribute to a better understanding of the great variety of past realities usually referred as the 'Greek colonization'.

2.1 *Students in Greek colonization*

In the past, much attention has been focused on one of the earliest phases of Greek colonization. The origins and character of this phenomenon have been hotly debated. As a result, a very large quantity of books and papers have been published on this subject. The first stage in the study of early Greek colonization was mainly characterized by the critical analysis of ancient written sources. The principal pioneers in this field, as it affected southern Italy, were Ettore Pais (1894) and Emanuele Ciaceri (1924). T.J. Dunbabin (1948) summarized their views and added the first substantial set of archaeological data in an early attempt to integrate both types of sources. The most thorough study of the ancient written sources, however, was produced by Jean Bérard in his *Colonisation grecque* (1957; Italian edition: 1963).

In these four publications the foundation stories, the oracles and the dating of the moment of foundation were all discussed at considerable length. Moreover, the discrepancies between the various ancient sources on these topics were identified and explanations for these were given. A more or less plausible story was virtually proclaimed to be actual history, even though it was sometimes based on highly fragmentary written evidence about the foundation of a Greek *apoikia*. This did not pose too many problems, given the relatively limited quantities of archaeological finds that had been made by that time. If the earliest finds more or less coincided with the foundation date given by a 'reliable' author, they were interpreted as supporting his story. If they were much more recent, this was taken as evidence that there was still a gap in the archaeological data set. The earliest phase of the Greek settlement under discussion had obviously not yet been discovered.

Gradually the focus of the early Greek colonization debate shifted from the analysis of the written sources on this topic to the motives and the drives behind the numerous Greek colonization ventures. The advocates of the various theories (overpopula-

tion, landhunger and trade) fought for supremacy in this field. Each of these explanations had its supporters and opponents. Overpopulation was rapidly eliminated as a decisive factor as it was effectively demonstrated that Greece was far from being overcrowded in the late 8th century. The soil of Greece managed to provide food for a much larger population in the 6th century BC. Moreover, pre-modern parallels have indicated that it is logistically quite difficult to move large groups of migrants across considerable distances by ship (Andrews 1984; Frost 1990). The landhunger had been strongly advocated by the 'highly reliable' Greek author Thucydides for example. This explanation became less likely when it was realized that many of the areas in which such colonies developed were already inhabited by strong native groups. The underlying modern concept of colonial Greek superiority over the 'natives', moreover, appeared to be the result of a rather unhappy marriage between 5th century Athenian views and western European colonial history (cf. Hall 1989). Relatively small groups of land-hungry Greeks were unlikely to survive and thrive among the much larger groups of unfriendly natives. In the 1980s the pendulum swung heavily towards trade/exchange (see, for instance, Williams 1995, 34). From the late 1960s onwards, archaeological data concerning early Greek settlement outside the traditional Greek core area increased enormously. During the 1970s and 1980s in particular a very considerable amount of new archaeological data on the Greeks Overseas was obtained from excavations all over the Mediterranean. The differences between Boardman's first (1963) and second edition (1980) of the book that bears this title are telling, but reveal only a fraction of the new information that had been unearthed in the meantime.

2.2. *The invention of pre-colonization*

The ever increasing intensity of archaeological research showed the presence of a very limited number of very early Greek objects on foreign shores. They preceded the historically reported foundation dates by several decades or even more. Such very early finds finally settled the old and widely discussed question of whether the earliest Greek sherds at a given colonial Greek site denoted the first generation of Greek settlers. Obviously, the presence of these ceramics was due to other factors. The discoveries in the western Mediterranean were especially enlightening in this respect (Sicily, Pithekoussai, Etruria, south-eastern Italy). These very early Greek objects, moreover, turned up in contexts which obviously had nothing to do with Greek settlement. Therefore, they convincingly demonstrated that Greeks had traveled widely in periods preceding the 'colonizations'

described by the ancient Greek authors, although a few scholars rightly remarked that a Greek pot was not necessarily transported in a Greek boat by Greek sailors. Phoenicians, Cypriots or other Levantines might equally well have been the carriers and native Italian involvement in transport cannot be excluded.³ Inscriptions in different types of writing and great differences in burial customs, each of them highly characteristic of a particular Mediterranean region (at e.g. Pithekoussai; cf. Ridgway 1992), made it clear that, in any case, a variety of Orientals and Greeks were responsible for the 'exotic' finds of the late 9th and early 8th century in the western Mediterranean. Traveling from the Aegean to the sites of these early finds, involved long sea journeys and considerable risk. It was therefore generally believed that such ventures had to be motivated by trade. Another factor was the profit that was supposedly generated by bartering between Greeks, Cypriots and other Levantines on the one hand and the native populations of Italy on the other hand. The far western adventures of the Samian skipper Kolaïos in the 630s as reported by Herodotus (IV, 152), for instance, show how much profit this kind of trade could bring.

The numerous new discoveries of early Greek objects in non-Greek contexts throughout the western Mediterranean gave rise to the term 'pre-colonization'. These finds seemed to prove that, in the case of Greek colonization, trade went before the flag. 'No colonization without pre-colonization' was the battle cry during the 1980s. The strength of this concept was that it was entirely plausible that the actual *ktisis* of an *apoikia* did not take place in a completely unknown environment. The distribution of these early finds, moreover, meant that pre-colonial Greeks were often seen as traders and prospectors. Trade for personal gain and the search for rare commodities (e.g., eastern luxuries, raw metals) were believed to have played a major role in the earliest Greek ventures. Furthermore colonization was the logical sequel to pre-colonization. David Ridgway expressed what many other scholars had been thinking during the 1980s when he wondered whether a pre-colonial 'trading settlement ... could not simply have evolved into a colony' (Ridgway 1992, 108).

³ Native-Italic shipping certainly took place during the Iron Age. One of the more obvious cases, perhaps, are the exchanges between the Italian Adriatic coast (North Apulia, Marche area) and Croatia/Slovenia during the 8th to 6th century BC (Yntema 1979), long before the Greeks arrived in the *Caput Adriae*. However, in the Tyrrhenian areas for example, Nuraghic bronzes and Sicilian *piumata* wares were shipped; Greek involvement in these cases is highly unlikely. Various types of Levantines and Greeks at Ischia can be recognized only because they scratched graffiti in pots during the 8th century. Persons belonging to Italic groups were illiterate.

Trade, therefore, was considered to be the initial drive to go abroad and other factors were only of secondary importance.

2.3 *Conflicting types of evidence*

New data derived from numerous excavations and the interpretations proposed on the basis of this much richer set of information led to the first clashes between archaeological evidence and historical evidence. The interpretation of the archaeological data from some thoroughly investigated sites appeared to produce pictures that differed sometimes radically from the images that had been constructed by careful reading of the relevant passages in the writings of ancient authors. This discrepancy, of course, gave rise to a debate about which sources had a better claim to the truth (e.g., Lombardo 1986, 58 ff.). Some scholars (mostly historians) firmly believed in the reliability of the ancient written sources. They argued that the archaeological evidence is notoriously incomplete and reveals only a fraction of past human activities. It can be shaped into various images and can not, therefore, be completely trusted. Others (mostly archaeologists) considered archaeological information as direct evidence, while they believed that the ancient authors writing about this early period of the Greek world lived many centuries later and were, therefore, unlikely to supply reliable information about the earliest history of Greek settlements outside the area of the central and southern Aegean. As usual, both parties are probably partly right. The 'historical' written sources can be viewed as the perceptions and interpretations of the past produced by ancient writers. The archaeological sources consist of interpretations, by present-day archaeologists, of the features and assemblages of mostly scanty material remains from the past.

Two years ago Osborne (1998) discussed the nature of Greek settlement in the West in a paper in which a question mark was applied to the term 'Early Greek Colonization'. He concluded that this phenomenon has features that differed very substantially from those found in Greek settlements established 'abroad' during the classical period. This also applies to those found in the Roman *coloniae*. The model of colonization is unsuitable as a model for Greek settlement in the West during the 8th and 7th centuries BC (e.g., Osborne 1998, 267). It is therefore useful to present a case study of the Gulf of Taranto, a relatively well investigated part of Italy. There is no reason to assume that the conclusions we reach can be applied to all early Greek colonial situations, nor that southeastern Italy was an atypical example of Greeks overseas.

In the next two sections, both the archaeological evidence and the information from ancient written

sources (when available) concerning a series of eight settlements in southeastern Italy will be discussed in considerable detail. On the basis of these two sources, two images will be constructed of the character of the early Greek presence in southern Italy. The intention is to reveal an archaeological landscape and a generalized picture derived from the ancient written sources. In the concluding sections these will be examined in order to identify and account for the analogies and discrepancies between them. The discussion will focus exclusively on a series of coastal settlements, because the ancient written sources (with their basically Greek-centred perspectives) are especially concerned with the coastal areas of southern Italy. Here, from the 6th century BC onwards, three of these settlements (Siris, Metapontion, Taras) were inhabited by people who considered themselves to be Greeks. Only the 8th and 7th century phases of these coastal settlements will be dealt with.

3. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

In the past thirty years the archaeology of southeastern Italy has evolved with breathtaking speed. In 1960, fieldwork and other types of research in the Italian regions of Apulia, Basilicata and northern Calabria were limited in both quantity and quality. The archaeology of the *Mezzogiorno* was basically the domain of local amateurs. The vast area was only marginally controlled by the Superintendencies of Antiquities at Salerno, Reggio Calabria and Taranto. The archaeology of the south was primarily studied at Naples and Bari, which house the main universities in this area. The focus was mainly on the former Greek centres in the coastal area of southern Italy. Taranto, being the backyard of the Superintendency of Apulia, was certainly the most intensely investigated town of the Greek south (cf. *Cento Anni*).

This situation changed dramatically during the 1960s. Several important initiatives acted as catalytic agents in this process. The first important innovation was the introduction of the annual *Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia* at Taranto in 1961. This meant that archaeologists interested in this part of the Mediterranean had a forum where they could meet and exchange views on a regular basis. The congress papers (*Atti del Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia*) reflect the rapid growth of the archaeology of southern Italy. The start of this congress was soon followed by the foundation of the Superintendency of Antiquities for Basilicata in 1964 which was energetically led by Dinu Adamesteanu.⁴

⁴ Before the year 1964 the Basilicata province of Potenza was part of the Superintendency of Salerno, while the southeastern

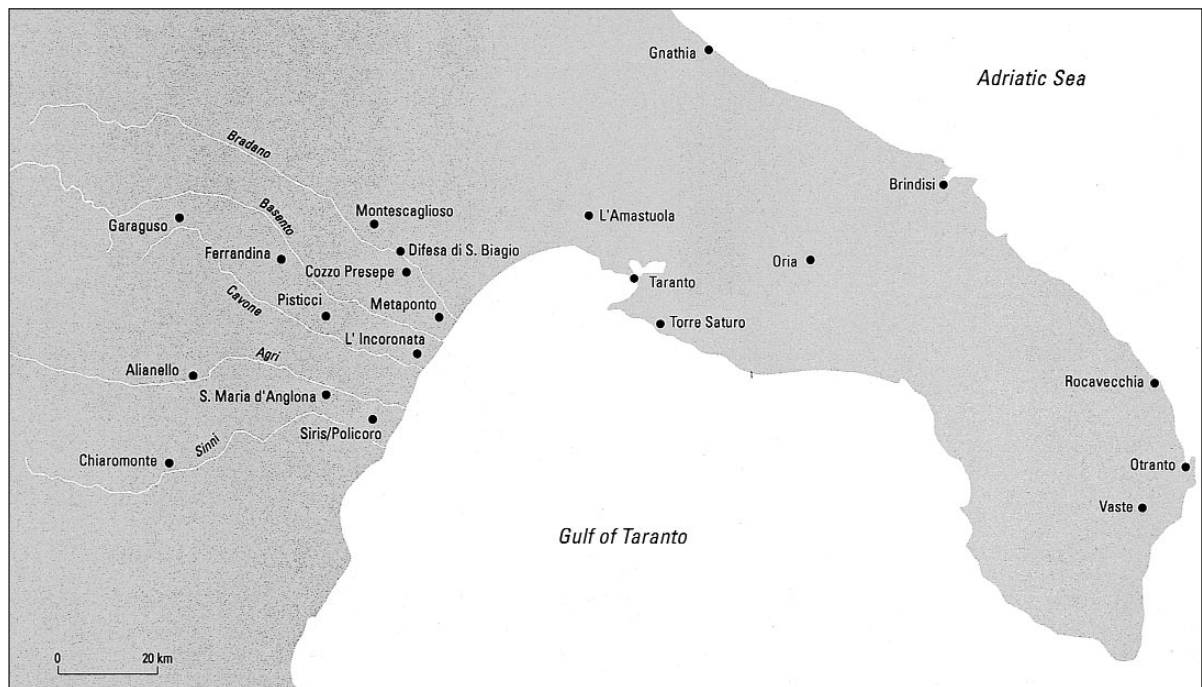


Fig. 1. Map of southeastern Italy with sites mentioned in the text.

He attracted many scholars, both from other parts of Italy and from various foreign countries, who introduced new views and new methods of research. Both the creation and growth of this superintendency and the 1971 *Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia* were important stimuli for research on native groups in southern Italy during the first millennium BC.⁵ In the 1970s, moreover, a new centre of archaeological research gained momentum in the south, at Apulian Lecce University. It was, and still is, directed by Francesco D'Andria and cooperates closely with the *École Française de Rome*, the University of Sydney and the *Vrije Universiteit* in Amsterdam. Together with the superintendencies of Basilicata and Apulia, it is one of the centres where new views and new research programmes were (and still are) developed. This research primarily concerns the native populations of southern Italy and their relationship with the Greeks.

These new initiatives, followed by excavations at many sites (both Greek and non-Greek), generated a large amount of new data. The Iron Age of southern Italy was one of the major points of interest. It was a period marked by the arrival of various groups of Greeks and, possibly, other peoples from the eastern Mediterranean. The Iron Age also saw the rise of various native cultural groups of southern Italy, each with a distinctly regional flavour (e.g., D'Andria 1988; De Juliis 1988).

Since this paper deals with the early Greek presence in southeastern Italy, the evidence for a series of coastal or near-coastal sites on the Gulf of Taranto/Ionian Sea and the entrance of the Adriatic Sea will be briefly reviewed. Recently, a synthesis of approximately the same period in the Basilicata coastal area has been presented by Liliana Giardino and Antonio De Siena (1999). They sketch out a picture of developments that occurred in the area between the rivers Bradano and Sinni. It has sometimes been thought that these districts were the hinterlands of Siris and Metapontion in more recent times (6th to 3rd centuries BC).

In the following sections, images will be constructed of a series of coastal sites in Basilicata and Salento. This will cover the period from the early 8th century to the middle of the 7th century BC (approx. 800-650/625 BC). This period of about 150 to 175 years encompasses both the established pre-colonial phase and the early 'colonial' phase of southeastern Italy. It can therefore be expected to supply the information on each site that is required for our

province of Matera belonged to the Superintendency of Apulia at Taranto.

⁵ The 1971 congress was about *Greci e indigeni nella Magna Grecia*; on this occasion an exhibition was organized at Potenza in which the numerous new finds from native areas of Basilicata were presented (*Popoli anellenici in Basilicata*, exhibition catalogue Potenza 1971, Naples 1971).

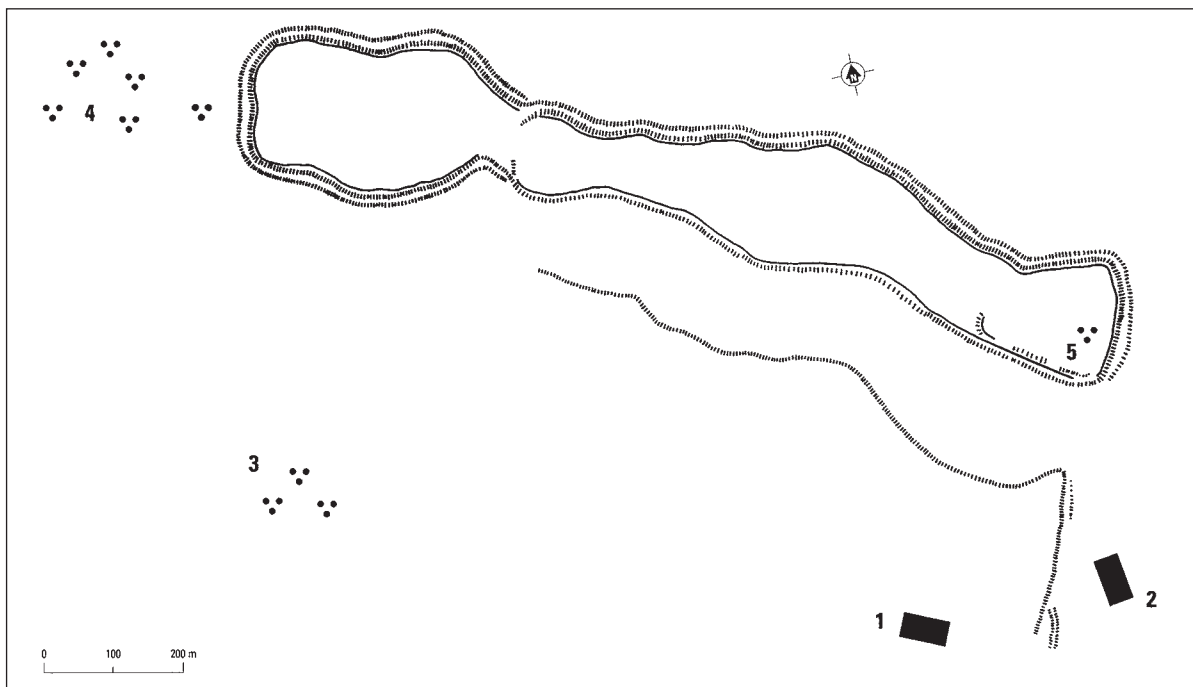


Fig. 2. Plan of Siris/Policoro in the first half to middle of the 7th century BC; groups of dots: necropoleis; 1. Ufficio postale; 2. Caserta-Cospita; 3. Schirone; 4. Madonelle; 5. Zona Castello.

present purposes. On this basis, a more generalized picture of the character of Greek and non-Greek occupation can be derived. This can be compared to the picture constructed on the basis of written sources. The sites will be discussed in order of their location on the coast, starting from the west (Policoro) and moving east (Brindisi). The exact geographical position of each of these sites is shown in Fig. 1.

3.1 Policoro/Siris/Heraclea (Figs. 2 and 4)

The first site to be discussed here is Policoro. This present-day name is Byzantine in origin. This is the settlement that was referred to as Heraclea in Lucania from the 5th century BC onwards. It can almost certainly be equated with the early Greek colony of Siris (e.g., Lombardo 1986 and 1998). The settlement is situated between the rivers Agri and Sinni which rise in the uplands of Lucania. Important native centres such as Santa Maria d'Anglona, Alianello and Chiaromonte can be reached by following these rivers upstream (cf. Adamesteanu 1974; Bianco and Tagliente 1985; Frey 1991). Post-antique construction has only covered a small part of the site. Siris/Policoro has been under intense investigation since the 1960s.⁶

In its most extended 4th/3rd-century phase, the town of Siris/Heraclea occupied a narrow, oblong-shaped ridge or hill and a large, virtually flat area to the south (Fig. 2). The Greek or Greek-like settlement that apparently existed in the 6th century BC had what appears to be a Greek material culture. It included dwellings, fortifications and one or two temples (Adamesteanu 1981; Bianco and Tagliente 1985). The archaeological evidence dating from the 6th to 3rd/2nd centuries BC strongly suggests that the settlement in question was a Greek *polis*.

The spot where the town of Siris came into being was not inhabited during the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age.⁷ The earliest traces of Iron Age human occupation of the site under discussion date from the end of the 8th or the early 7th century BC

⁶ The excavations and prospections were done by German teams (e.g., Neutsch 1967; Hänsel 1973), the archaeologists of the *Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Basilicata* (e.g., Adamesteanu 1974; Bianco and Tagliente 1985; Berlingò 1986; Tagliente 1986) and the Florence University (e.g. Pianu 1989, 1990).

⁷ The Policoro hill and surrounding area was inhabited during the early Bronze Age (cf. S. Bianco, *Aspetti culturali dell'Eneolitico e della prima età del Bronzo sulla costa ionica della Basilicata*, *Studi di Antichità* 2 (1981), p. 30 ff.).



Fig. 3. Siris/Policoro: early finds; left: Early Proto-Corinthian kotylè (new drawing based on Hänsel 1973); right: Thapsos cup (new drawing based on Giardino and De Siena 1999).

(Fig. 3).⁸ These have all been found in regular excavations of recent date and consist of various traces of habitations and two cemeteries (Hänsel 1973; Adamesteanu 1974; Berlingò 1986; Tagliente 1986 and 1998; Giardino 1998; Giardino and De Siena 1999).

The earliest settlement traces of Siris/Policoro are not confined to one single area of the later town but are found in three or four spots several hundred metres apart. Traces of settlement nuclei from the early 7th century BC have been observed both on the eastern and western end of the ridge (Hänsel 1973; Berlingò 1986; Tagliente 1998; Giardino and De Siena 1999). Other contemporary settlement nuclei, moreover, have been found in the flat area immediately south of the Policoro hill (Tagliente 1986 and 1998). Here native wares have been found in addition to Greek-style ceramics (Giardino and De Siena 1999, 34).

These data, scant though they may be, strongly suggest that early Siris (or whatever the site's name was in the early 7th century)⁹ was far from being a forbidding fortress among unfriendly natives. Early Siris was probably an open, dispersed settlement consisting of at least three (but possibly more) settlement nuclei (*komai* in Greek) which were several hundreds metres apart (Fig. 2).

Very similar observations can indeed be made concerning the cemeteries of Siris/Policoro. The earliest inhabitants of the site did not use a single, common necropolis. There were at least two contemporary, spatially separate burial plots (approx. 600 m apart) usually designated as Schirone or south-western necropolis and Madonelle or western graveyard (Adamesteanu 1974; Berlingò 1986, 1993). A third is said to have been discovered in an area southeast of the settlement. Other 7th century graves fortuitously recovered elsewhere in the area of the later town of Siris/Heraklea suggest that these were not the only three burial grounds used by the community or communities that lived here (cf. Giardino and De Siena 1999).

Of the two coherent cemeteries published hitherto, the Schirone necropolis dates from the 7th century and has only been partially investigated. All in all, 64 tombs have been excavated. These consisted mostly of large container vessels with cremations

(Corinthian A amphoras, East-Greek storage vessels, native pithoid jars). Only two burials of the *a fossa* type are reported at Schirone. These tombs were mostly, if not invariably covered by tumuli. The types of burials and contents of the tombs are very similar to those found in the western Madonelle necropolis. The latter dates from the early 7th century to the early 5th century BC and consists of some 450 graves. Here again, both cremations and inhumations are found, but the former ritual seems to have been less dominant (53%) than in the Schirone necropolis (Berlingò 1993). It should, moreover, be noted that both the Schirone and the Madonelle graves were arranged in family groups. According to Berlingò (1986, 1993) no 'ethnic' or social differences can be observed between these two cemeteries. Therefore, they probably belong to different groups with a very similar social composition and very similar burial customs, both living at early Siris.

The tombs at Madonelle may even supply information on the inhabitants' roots (Berlingò 1986, 126). Some of them show burial customs that have absolutely no ancestry in the native cultures of Basilicata. These may well be Greek. The character of other burials in the Madonelle necropolis, however, differs radically from what we know of the Greek way of disposing of the dead, and has good parallels in earlier native necropoleis. This information, therefore, suggests that the people who were buried at Madonelle, were not exclusively Greek. There are good reasons to believe that there were native 'Italians' among the first inhabitants of the highly dispersed settlement of Siris.

During the late 7th century, Siris became a more urban settlement. The Policoro hill was surrounded by a mud-brick wall, probably 4 km long (Fig. 4). This happened sometime after the middle of the 7th century (Adamesteanu 1986). Although at least one settlement nucleus continued to exist in the flat area south

⁸ In the excavation reports the dating is usually given as late 8th/early 7th century.

⁹ There is a second Greek name (*Polieion*) attached to the area where Siris arose. For this spiny problem, see Lombardo 1986, the discussion that followed his *conferenza*, and further literature cited there.

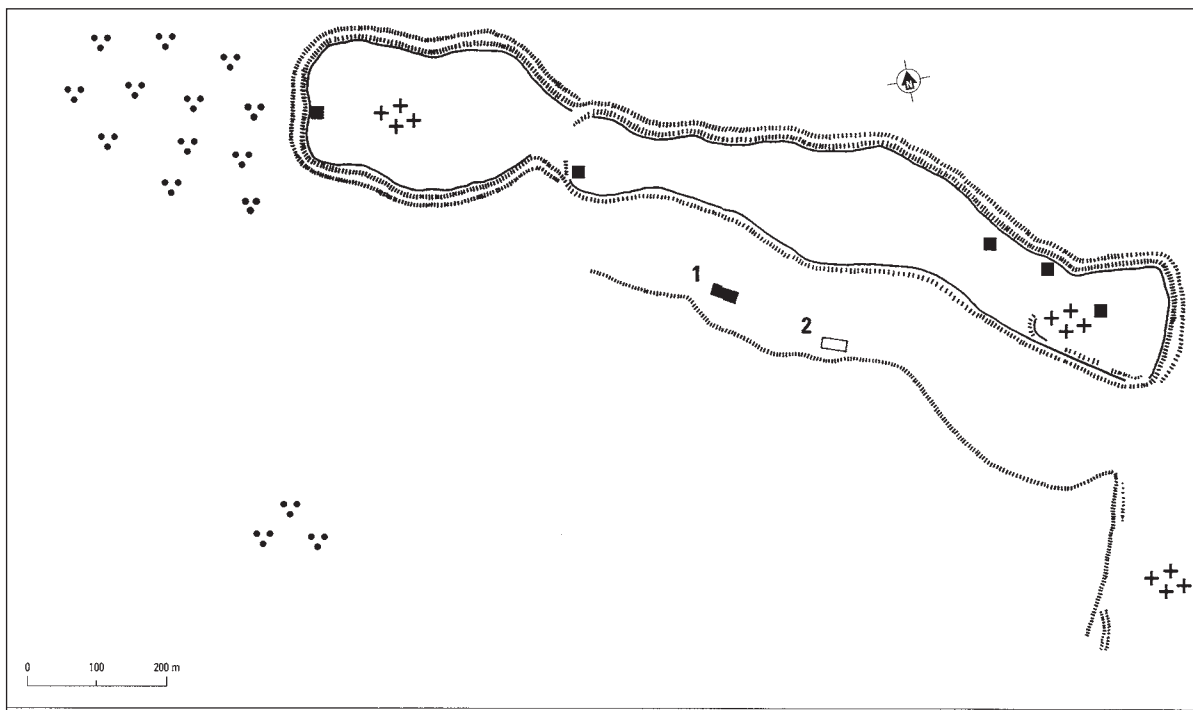


Fig. 4. Plan of Siris/Polocoro in the late 7th and early 6th century BC; ++: settlement areas; ■: traces of mudbrick wall; 1. archaic temple; 2. archaic sanctuary.

of the hill during the late 7th century (Tagliente 1986: Caserta-Cospita) and the Schirone and Madonnelle necropoleis continued to be used until the 6th century BC, habitation tended to concentrate on the ridge. The construction of one, possibly even two sacred buildings between 600 and 550 BC indicates that a coherent, fairly flourishing community had come into being. This can perhaps be equated with the historically attested polis of Siris.

The interpretation of this data concerning Policoro/Siris suggests the following picture. In its earliest phase (from about 690/680 to within the third quarter of the 7th century) the settlement had a decidedly dispersed character and can perhaps better be designated as 'settlements' (plural). Various small nuclei of dwellings were strewn over the Policoro hill and the surrounding flat areas close to the mouths of the rivers Agri and Sinni. These nuclei together, because of their geographical position and the character of the finds, are often supposed to have functioned as a kind of trading post. They may have performed other functions as well. The limited number of inhabitants were probably of mixed origins and lived in the settlements on a permanent or semi-permanent basis. They bartered items with passing Greeks, traded

with the native groups living upstream and lived off the soil. The importance of the exchange aspect for the earliest Iron Age inhabitants of Siris/Policoro is underlined by the presence of a substantial number of 7th century Corinthian A amphoras and Attic(?) SOS amphoras in the Siris/Policoro area (cf. Berlingò 1986 and 1993). That the early 7th century settlement of Siris/Policoro maintained contacts with native districts upstream is demonstrated by contemporary burial plots at the sites of Santa Maria d'Anglona and Alianello. These appeared to include pieces of both imported Greek wares (Fig. 5a and b) and local ceramics made according to Greek traditions (e.g., Adamesteanu 1974, 128; Bianco and Tagliente 1985, 68; Frey 1991) which display striking similarities with the ceramics found at early 7th century Siris/Policoro (Berlingò 1986 and 1993). Greek forms were even imitated at Alianello (Fig. 5c).

During the late 7th/early 6th century BC, the character of the settlement changed decisively. In what must have been a very time-consuming exercise, mud-brick defences were constructed all around the Policoro hill (approx. 630 BC? but slightly earlier date in Tagliente 1998) which included an area of 24 hectares. Habitations tended to concentrate within the fortified area (end of the 7th century), the

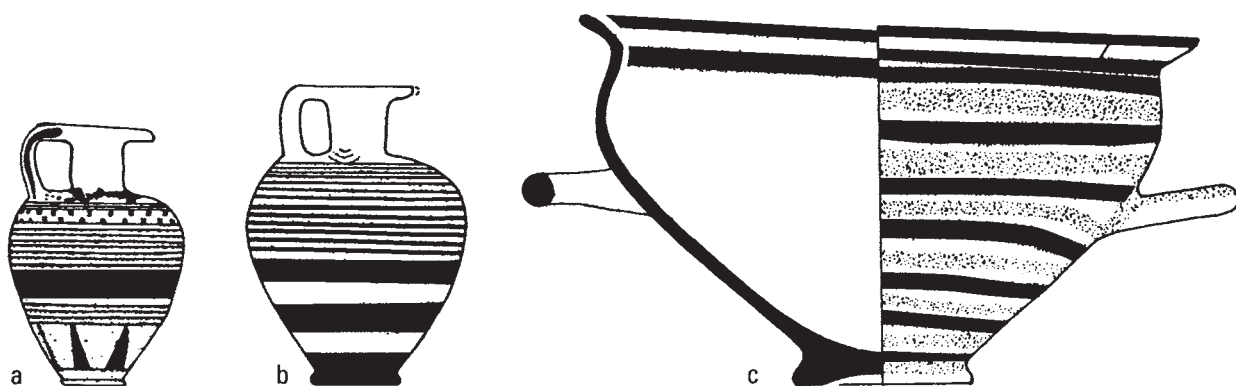


Fig. 5. Alianello-Cazzaiola, 7th century necropolis: Proto-Corinthian aryballois (a and b) and cup made with native techniques imitating Greek decoration and Greek shape (c).

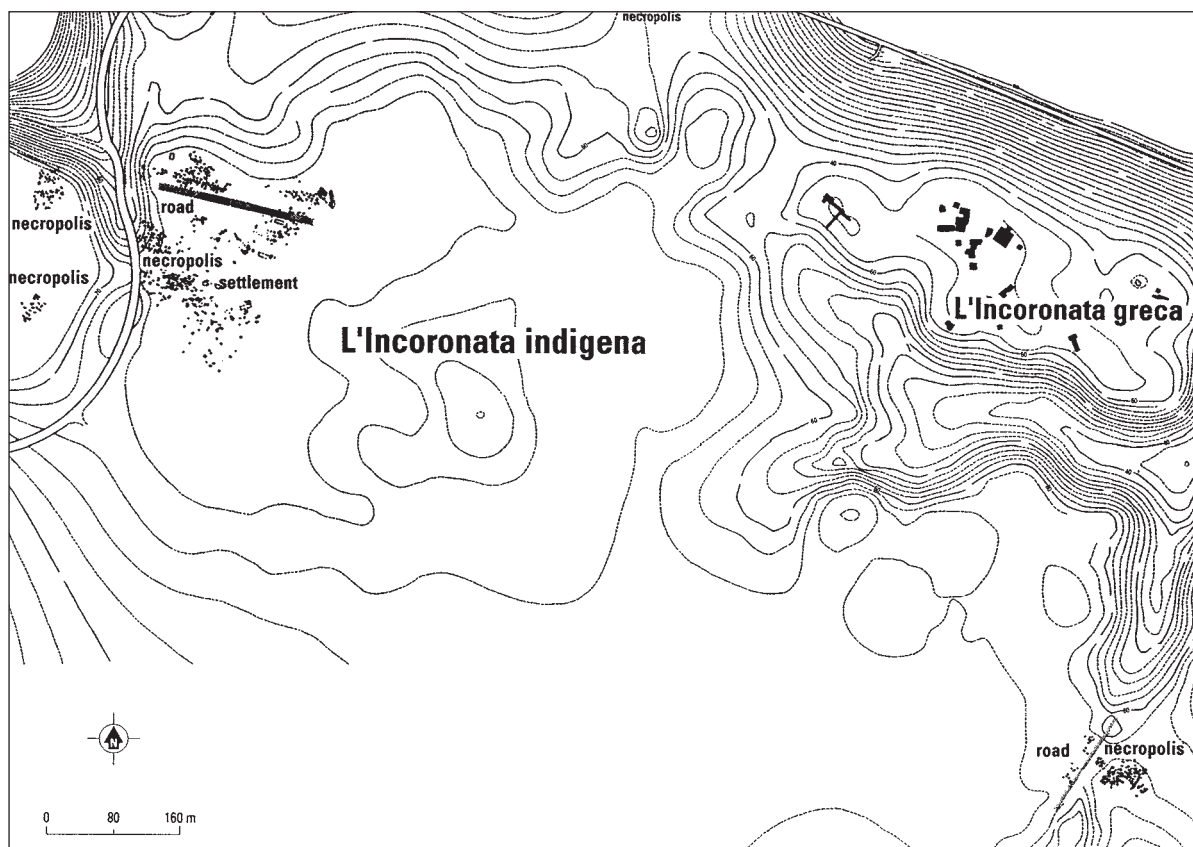


Fig. 6. Plan of L'Incoronata (new drawing based mainly on De Siena 1996).

Schirone cemetery was abandoned (approx. 580) and one (or possibly two) substantial sacred building(s) were erected (approx. 580/560). This period probably saw a transformation of the formerly dispersed settlement with a mixed population with both 'native' and Greek roots, in which trade and exchange played a substantial role. It became a town where most of the inhabitants were part-time or full-time farmers. Siris/Policoro may well have become a *polis* in both the physical and socio-political sense in the late 7th or early 6th century BC.

3.2 *L'Incoronata/San Teodoro* (Fig. 6)

The site of *L'Incoronata* was discovered during the 1960s as a result of deep-ploughing activities. It occupies a very large terrace-like hill of some 1800 x 1000 m between the rivers Cavone and Basento (Fig. 1; Fig. 6). This large, flat hill rises some 40 to 50 m above sea level and is situated on the western bank of the river Basento approximately 1.5 km from the ancient coastline (but now approx. 5 km from the coast). By following the Basento, one can easily reach important 'native' Iron Age sites such as Pisticci, Ferrandina and Garaguso (Hano et al. 1971; Lo Porto 1973a). The site of *L'Incoronata/San Teodoro* was never built over and has been intensely investigated by teams from the Superintendency of Basilicata and Milan University (e.g., *Greci sul Basento* and further literature cited there; Orlandini 1982; Chiartano 1977 and 1994; De Siena 1996; Giardino and De Siena 1999).

The earliest traces of human occupation date from at least the late 9th century BC, if not earlier. From the various excavations carried out hitherto it appears that, by the middle of the 8th century BC, *L'Incoronata/San Teodoro* had developed into a large, very dispersed settlement consisting probably of several groups of rounded to oval-shaped huts. It occupied various parts of the large terrace. The tomb groups of the 9th/8th century phase of the settlement were equally dispersed (Bianco 1998).

Something drastic must have happened in the early years of the 7th century BC. While Greek ceramics, pointing possibly at contacts with the Greek world, were very rare before that time (cf. Orlandini 1976), large quantities of Greek wares suddenly appear in one part of the site, generally designated as '*L'Incoronata greca*' – after approx. 690/680 BC. In this particular area of the settlement, the 7th century architectural remains (rectangular buildings) appeared to differ substantially from the 8th century remains (oval pits possibly referring to oval-shaped huts; but see Pelosi 1992). On the strength of the character of the finds in these small, rectangular buildings (many complete amphorae and storage jars; Fig. 7) it is believed that at least some of these 7th century structures func-

tioned as warehouses (cf. Orlandini 1982; *Greci sul Basento*). Some of the ceramics in this sector of the site were imported, originating from various sources. There is quite a lot of pottery from Corinth (both Proto-Corinthian fine wares and amphorae), some east-Greek/Rhodian wares and some probably Attic SOS amphorae. Many of the painted ceramics found at the part of the site designated as *L'Incoronata greca*, however, were made according to Greek ceramic traditions, but appeared to be of local or regional manufacture. Some of these bear figurative decorations and most of them have bands. They are believed to be indicative of the presence of Greek potters at or near the site (e.g., Panzeri 1980; Cialfoni 1985; *Greci sul Basento* 144-168).

The assemblage of ceramics found at *L'Incoronata greca* is strongly reminiscent of that of contemporary Siris/Policoro. On the strength of the present evidence, the Greek-style pots made at *L'Incoronata* and possibly at other sites were almost exclusively used on the coast. It should be noted, however, that very little is known about the 7th century phases of inland native centres in the *L'Incoronata* hinterland. Our current knowledge of the distribution of elaborately decorated *L'Incoronata* pottery suggests that it played no part in any exchange between resident Greek traders and native groups living away from the coast. This may be due to the specific role initially played by these ceramics in networks among the coastal groups.

L'Incoronata greca was the first part of the site to be excavated. Therefore, the idea that the whole settlement changed decisively around 700 BC, was repeatedly aired. It persisted well into the 1980s. The Milan team has interpreted the change around 700 BC in terms of a Greek conquest of the site, in which all things native were obliterated (e.g. Orlandini 1982; *Greci sul Basento*; Sacchi 1990). The native ceramics found at *L'Incoronata greca*, were almost invariably dated before approx. 700 BC.¹⁰

By now it is clear that the small part of the hill (that is virtually separated from the rest of the hill) close to the Bradano river (*L'Incoronata greca*) has a distinct settlement history. This history differs from the remaining larger area of the *L'Incoronata/San Teodoro* hill, which is sometimes designated as *L'Incoronata indigena*. While the traces of human occupation become steadily thinner at *L'Incoronata indigena* in the course of the late 8th and early 7th centuries, traces of human activities become ever more pronounced at *L'Incoronata greca*. The small, more or less

¹⁰ By now it is clear that a substantial part of the matt-painted ceramics of *L'Incoronata greca* are contemporary to the 'Greek' phase and can, therefore, be dated between 690/680 and approx. 630 BC (Yntema 1990, 169).

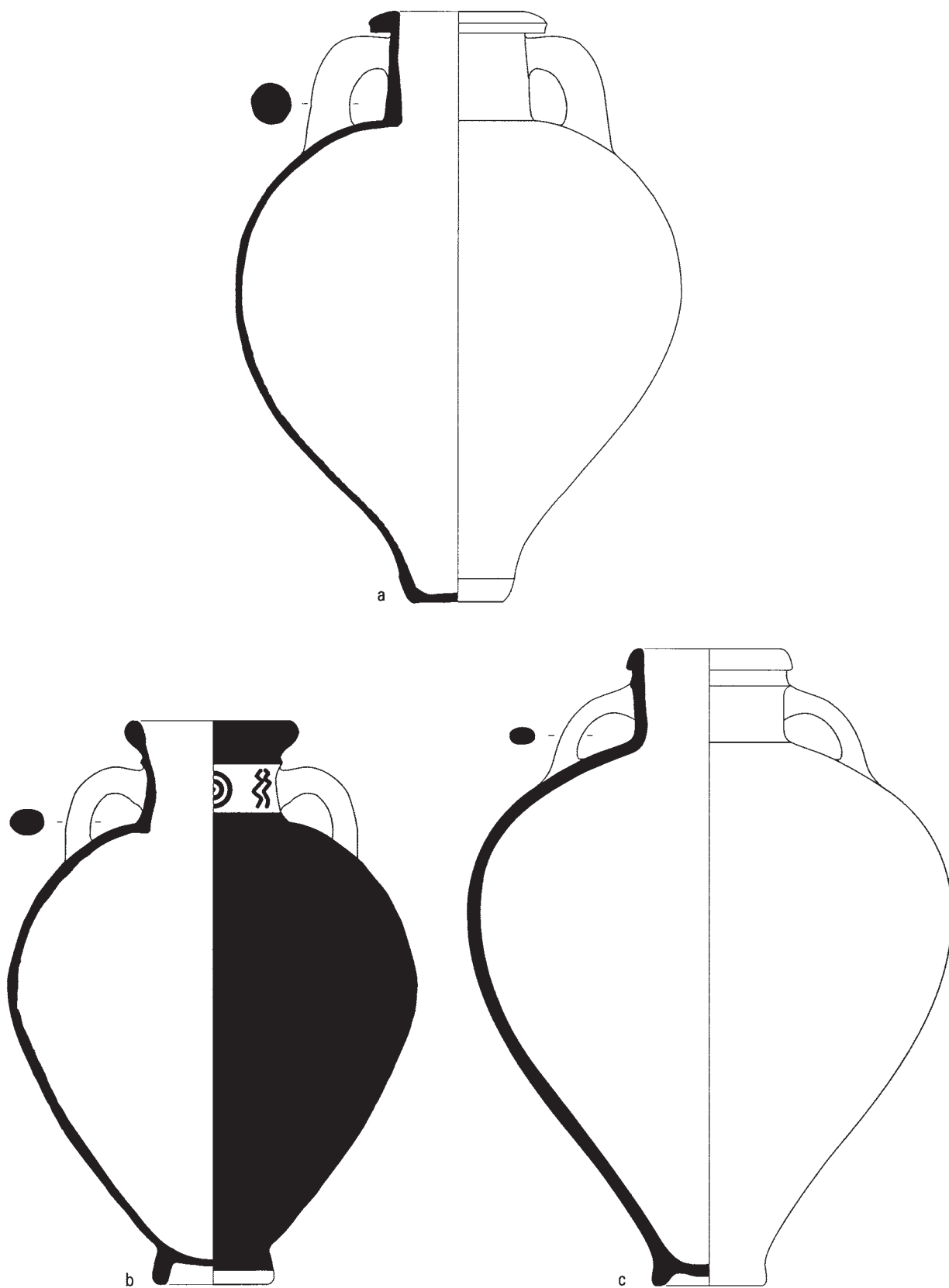


Fig. 7. L'Incoronata: 7th century amphoras from the 'Greek' shacks of the site (after Greci sul Basento); a. Corinthian A amphora; b. Attic (?) SOS amphora; c. East-Greek amphora.

separate, hill became even more intensely inhabited in about 690 BC. In view of the character of the finds, it may well have harboured a small Greek community consisting of traders and artisans, among others. The Greekness of *L'Incoronata greca* has been repeatedly underlined. Ample quantities of seventh century, native, matt-painted wares are found in the same contexts as 7th century Greek wares at this particular part of the site. This indicates that the most convincing interpretation that can be proposed on the strength of the present archaeological evidence is that there was a mixed population consisting of both natives and Greeks of different origins.¹¹ The decline in the very dispersed human activities at the large plateau (*'L'Incoronata indigena'*) and the substantial intensification of human occupation at the much smaller adjacent plateau (*'L'Incoronata greca'*) may be more indicative of incipient urbanization of the mixed population of L'Incoronata than of a Greek take-over of the native settlement.

This interpretation is more or less confirmed by very recent evidence. At the end of the 1980s a closely knit group of 27 tombs was found at the margins of the 9th-8th century necropolis of L'Incoronata. This burial ground may well have belonged to the group living at *L'Incoronata greca* in the 7th century. It consisted of 27 graves with mixed burial rites: 17 *enchytrismoi* in impasto situlas or Greek amphoras or hydrias and 10 inhumations (adults) *a posizione ranicchiata* (Giardino and De Siena 1999, 35). It is comparable to those of Siris-Madonelle and Siris-Schirone in both its burial rites and its location in relation to the settlement area and is therefore likely to be indicative of the presence of a group consisting of both Greeks and natives. Thus, by the early 7th century BC, the highly dispersed native settlement of the 8th century had transformed into a more condensed and more intensely inhabited settlement with a mixed population.

The strictness of the cultural, ethnic and chronological dividing line between *L'Incoronata greca* and the remaining 'native' part of the settlement (cf. *Greci sul Basento*; Orlandini 1982) has therefore been grossly overestimated and is certainly not correct (see also Carter 1993 and Lombardo 1998). Nevertheless, I feel that there is considerable circumstantial evidence to suggest that Greeks actually lived at L'Incoronata between 690 and 630/620 BC. However, many interpretations supplied over the last 25 years rest on the supposedly changed ground plan of the dwellings (from rounded-oval to rectangular) and on ceramic evidence. Both can be explained in various ways. Traces of oval-shaped huts at Metaponto-Andrisani are believed to indicate a Greek community (see section 3.3). As for the ceramics, there is of course no reason to assume that the Greek pots found at the site were exclusively used by Greeks.

Similarly, pots produced according to native traditions cannot be assumed to have been used only by the native inhabitants of the site.¹²

The excavations carried out hitherto suggest that, by about 630/620 BC, the human occupation at the L'Incoronata plateau came to an end. The buildings of the 'Greek' quarter of the site were abandoned with all the storage pots inside. Therefore, the end of the settlement of L'Incoronata is often thought to have been violent in nature. This was because, until 1982, the earliest finds in the nearby 'Achaean' *polis/apoikia* of Metapontion were dated to the last third of the 7th century. The genesis of this town and its *chora* was often supposed to have caused L'Incoronata's brutal end (e.g., Orlandini 1982).

Summarizing the evidence given above, one may conclude that the site of L'Incoronata may be interpreted as a native settlement that originated in or before the 9th century BC. It flourished and extended over a large part of the terrace-hill during much of the 8th century. In the late 8th/early 7th century a large part of the plateau was gradually abandoned. About 690 BC, however, the occupation of an outlying, somewhat separate part of the hill intensified notably. It may well have been developed into a mixture of fairly contracted native settlement, trading station and artisan quarter where Greeks lived together with non-Greeks. For reasons unknown, the human occupation at L'Incoronata ended around 630/620 BC.

3.3. Metapontion (Fig. 9)

The setting of the site of Metapontion (now: Metaponto) differs from those of Siris/Policoro and L'Incoronata. It is not situated on a hill, but lies in the flat coastal area directly bordering on the Gulf of Taranto. It is wedged between the rivers Bradano and Basento, the mouths of which are now more distant from Metapontion than in the past. In ancient times the settlement must have been practically on the sea (Fig. 1). The site has never been built on in post-antique times.

The area in which the town of Metapontion arose, was virtually uninhabited before the 7th century. The earliest object found hitherto is a Corinthian Middle Geometric fragment probably dating from the early to mid 8th century BC (Fig. 8a). It can be considered to be a casual find and comes from a late

¹¹ For 7th century native matt-painted wares from *L'Incoronata greca*, see, for instance, *Greci sul Basento* pls. 30-33 (pp. 90-93).

¹² Pots made in the Greek technical, morphological and decorative traditions, of course, also circulated in the so-called 'native' part of the site usually indicated as *L'Incoronata indigena* (cf. De Siena 1986, pl. 40a).

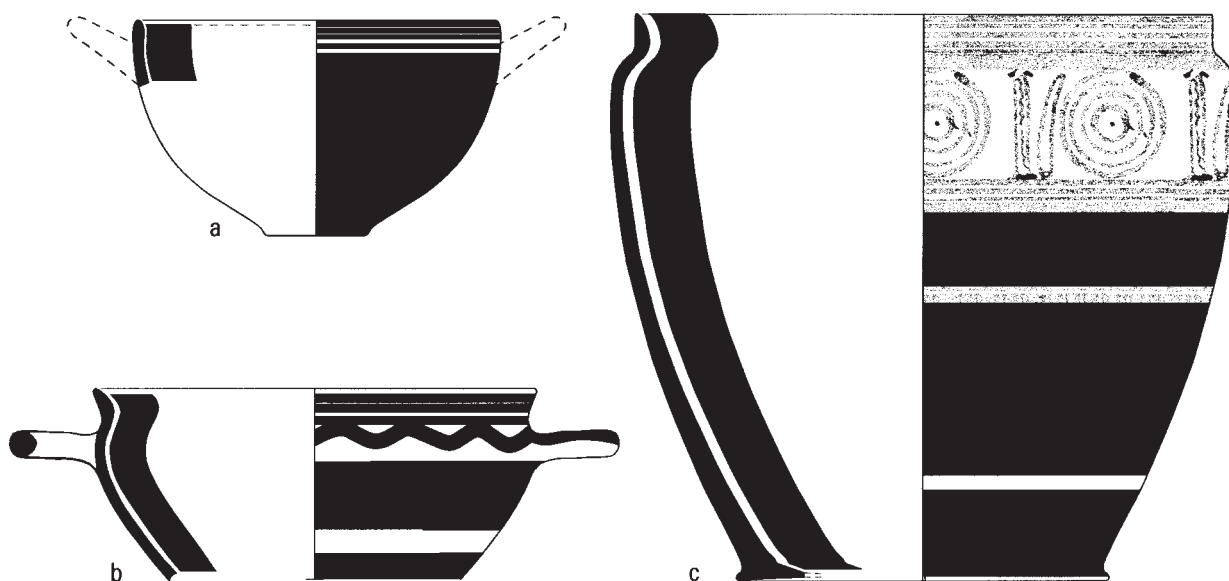


Fig. 8. Early Greek or Greek-like wares from Metapontion; a. Corinthian Geometric fragment from 'Castrum' (after D'Andria 1995); b. Wheelmade ceramics from Metaponto-Andrisani (after De Siena 1986).

7th century BC dump in the area that contained the Roman settlement often indicated as the *Castrum* (D'Andria 1995, 500). The earliest settlement traces found up until the 1980s can be dated to the last third of the 7th century BC or later.

Since 1982, however, new evidence has come to light indicating that the Metaponto area was already inhabited in the 2nd quarter of the 7th century BC. Deep-ploughing in the north-western area of the later Greek town of Metapontion (the so-called 'Andrisani' plot) revealed the presence of habitations dating from the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 7th century (Fig. 9). The traces of these human activities were badly eroded, both because of recent deep-ploughing and intensive building activities in the later Greek town. The reconstruction of the dwellings, therefore, is uncertain. The features which had survived *in situ* are reminiscent of the rounded to oval-shaped huts at L'Incoronata (which were said to be characteristic of the native occupation of this near-by site).¹³ The ceramics excavated at Metaponto-Andrisani as presented hitherto are, however, utterly Greek in character (*Greci sul Basento*, 199-212; De Siena 1986 and 1996).¹⁴ Again there are imports (Middle Proto-Corinthian), but the bulk of the ceramics found at Metaponto-Andrisani are fragments of pots produced in southern Italy with typically Greek techniques, Greek forms and Greek decorative features (Fig. 8b and c). The presence of ceramic wasters in the Andrisani dig even suggests that such colonial-Greek wares were produced on

the spot (De Siena 1986, 149). Recently a very similar settlement nucleus of approximately the same period has been reported from another spot underneath archaic-classical Metapontion: the hut settlement of Metaponto-Lazzizzera (De Siena 1990; Lombardo 1998).

The Andrisani hut settlement seems to have come to an end around 630 BC. How and why the settlement started is unknown. The continuity, or lack of continuity with the *apoikia* of Metapontion is still a matter of debate. From about 620/600 large new structures arose (e.g. a first temple) contemporary to a totally different organization of the habitation area. This suggests the birth of a quite different and much larger, 'territorial' community which may well be taken as the start of the *polis* of Metapontion.

From the evidence of Iron Age settlement traces at Metaponto one may infer that there were at least two nuclei of dwellings (at Metaponto-Andrisani and Metaponto-Lazzizzera), probably consisting of

¹³ L'Incoronata is only 7 km west of Metaponto.

¹⁴ The only piece of native ware from Metaponto-Andrisani published hitherto is a matt-painted vessel from the north-Apulian Canosa area (De Siena 1986, pl. 41b). This fragment is, of course, only a tracer of long-distance contacts through native networks and cannot be interpreted as an indication for the presence of local/regional natives at the site. Another north-Apulian piece has been found at L'Incoronata greca (Malnati 1979, 282, pl. IV.2). Both suggest a link between the regional exchange networks of the Bradano-Basento area and northern Apulia.

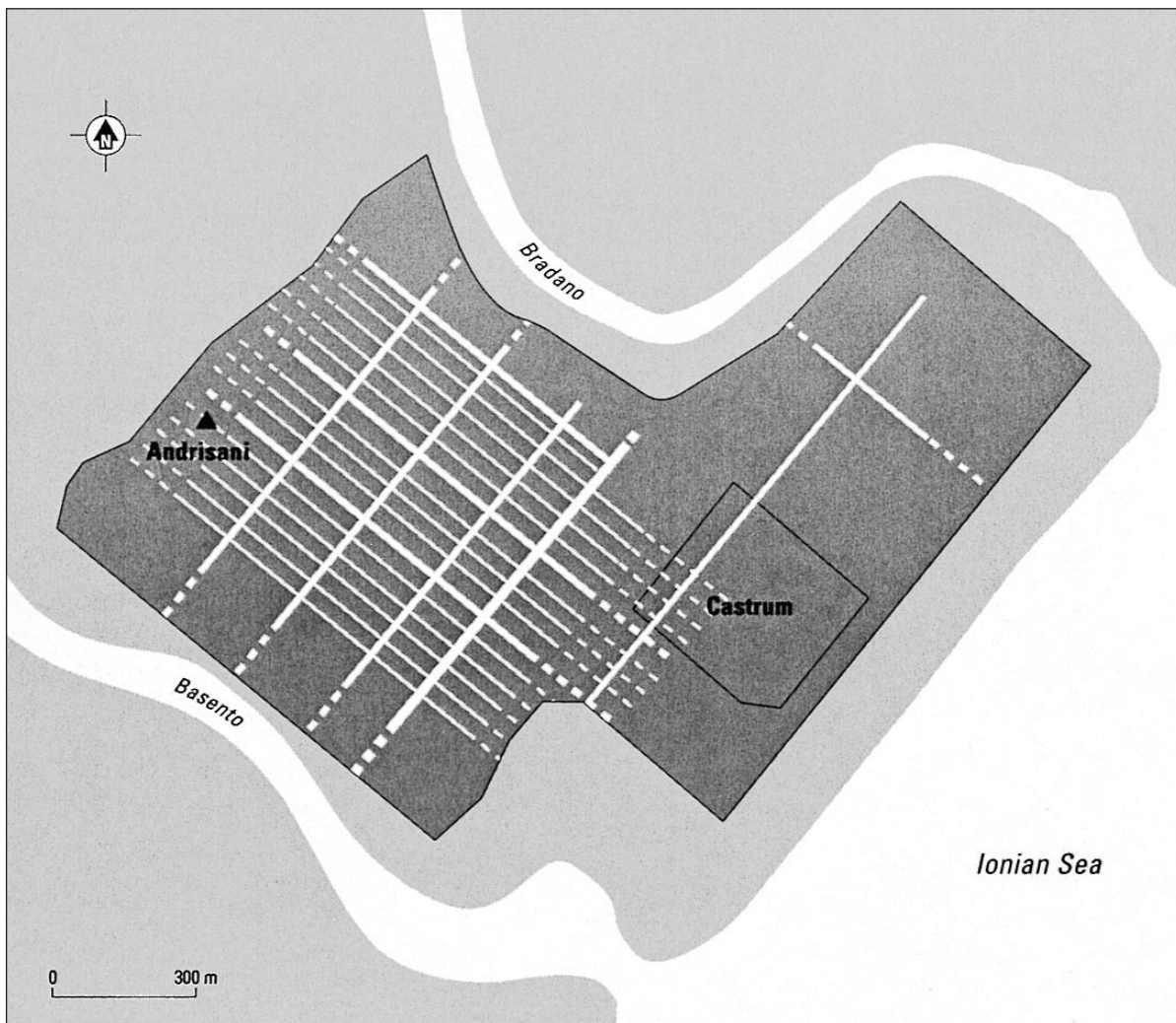


Fig. 9. Plan of Metapontion with 'Castrum' and Metaponto-Andrisani.

rounded to oval-shaped huts. On the basis of the ceramic materials, these huts are believed to have been inhabited by a group of Greeks.¹⁵ The presence of ceramic wasters with strongly Greek characteristics at Andrisani, in any case, suggests that Greeks actually lived and worked on the spot. The assemblage of ceramics encountered in these settlement nuclei has close parallels at *L'Incoronata greca*, and Siris/Policoro. Therefore, one may conclude that during the 2nd to 3rd quarter of the 7th century Metapontion – or whatever the settlement's name was in that early period – was a dispersed settlement, like early Siris. On the strength of the close parallels with early Siris, the inhabitants probably earned part of their living by means of trade and exchange with native communities upstream and producing

Greek-type ceramics. They must, moreover, have tilled the soil in order to obtain basic foodstuffs. In the final quarter of the 7th century BC, a community with totally different characteristics came into being. It quickly developed into the town and *polis* of Metapontion. This settlement was much larger, far more populous and had a completely different spatial organization. Within just 30 to 50 years it managed to express its socio-political organization,

¹⁵ De Siena's report (1986) suggests that the Andrisani finds (2nd-3rd quarter of the 7th century) have parallels at other spots within the walls of later Metaponto (e.g. in the *Castrum*, underneath the 5th century *ekklesiasterion*). The records of the discussions following his lecture, however, indicate that these are likely to date to the late 7th century.



Fig. 10. Site plan of the first settlement phases of L'Amastuola (after Maruggi 1996).

its social and religious coherence and its status by building public works and a series of sacred buildings. In the course of the first half of the 6th century the *polis* of Metapontion evidently began to establish an agricultural territory which was strictly organized and soon became littered with farmsteads (e.g., Carter 1981 and 1998; Carter and D'Annibale 1985).

3.4. L'Amastuola (Crispiano) (Fig. 10)

The site called 'L'Amastuola' is probably fairly small, and the first parts of it have only very recently been

excavated. Accordingly, at this stage of the research, only a very limited picture can be given, on the basis of the first provisional report (Maruggi 1996). The site is approx. 14 km northwest of Taranto, approximately halfway between the present-day settlements of Crispiano and Massafra. It is situated on a limestone spur of the southern part of the Murge mountains, near a small, formerly perennial stream. L'Amastuola is strategically situated approx. 200 m above sea level and overlooks the coastal plain west of Taranto. The site is only 8 km from the shore (Fig. 1).

The finds reported hitherto by Maruggi consist of a necropolis (inhumation) and traces of a settlement. The former is estimated to have contained approx. 1000 tombs, which were cut into the rock between the 7th and the 5th century BC (probably between approx. 680/660 and the early 5th century). As yet, only a small portion of the necropolis has been excavated. A large percentage of the graves that have been investigated (approx. 50%), belong to non-adults. The cemetery, therefore, must be representative of a community consisting of at least a few dozen (initially?) to about three hundred individuals during the late 6th century. In terms of their shape, funerary objects (e.g. aryballoi) and death ritual, the graves have the characteristics of Greek tombs (each of these aspects has close parallels at nearby Taras). Unlike the Schirone and Madonelle necropoleis of Siris and the burial ground of L'Incoronata, the L'Amastuola cemetery has not yet supplied any clues that might suggest a mixed population.

The settlement is approx. 700 m north of the cemetery (*Fig. 10*). There is only a partial overlap in time between the settlement traces and the burials. The remains of the dwellings indicate that the settlement started in or before the middle of the 8th century (earlier phase), had a significant break in approx. 680/660 and continued for much of the 7th century BC (later phase). Traces of a 6th century occupation have not yet been reported. Since people continued to be buried at the site until the 5th century BC, it is plausible to assume that L'Amastuola was also inhabited during this somewhat later period.

The earlier phase (approx. 750/730-680/660) consists of faint traces of oval-shaped wattle and daub huts with substantial quantities of Iron Age ceramics. The classes found in the layers belonging to this phase are the so-called Italic impasto wares and the equally Italic matt-painted pottery (cf. Yntema 1990; Yntema 1991). The combination of these ceramic features is highly characteristic of the native settlements of southeastern Italy during the 9th, 8th and 7th centuries BC.

In the first half of the 7th century, the earlier settlement of oval-shaped huts was built over. A new settlement arose on top of it (later phase). It had more solid dwellings displaying a rectangular ground plan. The ceramics found in these later buildings differ markedly from those found in the earlier phase. From 680/660 onward the pottery used at L'Amastuola was completely Greek. Middle Proto-Corinthian wares and colonial-Greek pottery abound in the middle to late 7th century contexts. The assemblage of artefacts found in the strata of this second, later phase of the L'Amastuola site is likely to be characteristic of Greek groups.

The archaeological evidence presented by Maruggi (1996) suggests that L'Amastuola in its earlier phase was a settlement undoubtedly inhabited by a native Italic group. The geometric ornaments on matt-painted pottery found at the site indicates that the native population of the site had close cultural links with groups living in the Basento-Bradano area (now the Metapontino).¹⁶ The most recent native ceramics reported by Maruggi (1996, 218, *Fig. 21*) may well date from approximately the 2nd quarter of the 7th century.

At about that time something drastic happened at L'Amastuola. The Middle Proto-Corinthian ceramics of the settlement's second phase are more or less contemporary to the most recent matt-painted fragments of the earlier phase.¹⁷ They suggest that the later settlement with Greek or a Greek-like material culture replaced the earlier 'native' one almost overnight (with a maximum overlap of 25 years). Because the material culture of the more recent phase differs so radically from that of the earlier phase, it is rather tempting to assume that a completely different group (to all appearances Greek) were the inhabitants of the later phase of L'Amastuola. The correspondence between the break in the settlement's history and the start of the necropolis is equally suggestive of the arrival of a new group with a different material culture and different burial customs.

There are two possible explanations for this drastic change. Maruggi (1996) suggests that the earlier native settlement was destroyed by a group of Greeks who had actually taken up residence on this spot. This is because Greek settlers suddenly and completely replaced the native inhabitants. The contemporary appearance of a necropolis (probably Greek) seems to support this option. The various archaeological features of the L'Incoronata site, however, have initially been explained in the same way. Further investigations have shown that the native settlement continued to exist, but that an outlying part of it may have become a Greek quarter (section 3.2). Greek traders, artisans, adventurers and native groups presumably lived and worked at L'Incoronata. Because the excavations at L'Amastuola have uncovered only a very small part of the site, this option cannot be completely excluded. However, three factors undermine the plausibility of this second option. These

¹⁶ The closest parallels to the matt-painted wares of L'Amastuola come from the 'native' sites of Palagianò, Ginosa and Montescaglioso.

¹⁷ The chronology of both south-Italian matt-painted wares and Proto-Corinthian wares is insufficiently precise to establish whether there the native wares are indeed earlier than the Greek ceramics of the site. At L'Amastuola both ceramic classes are represented by pieces which, in the present state of the evidence, are likely to date to the 2nd quarter of the 7th century BC.

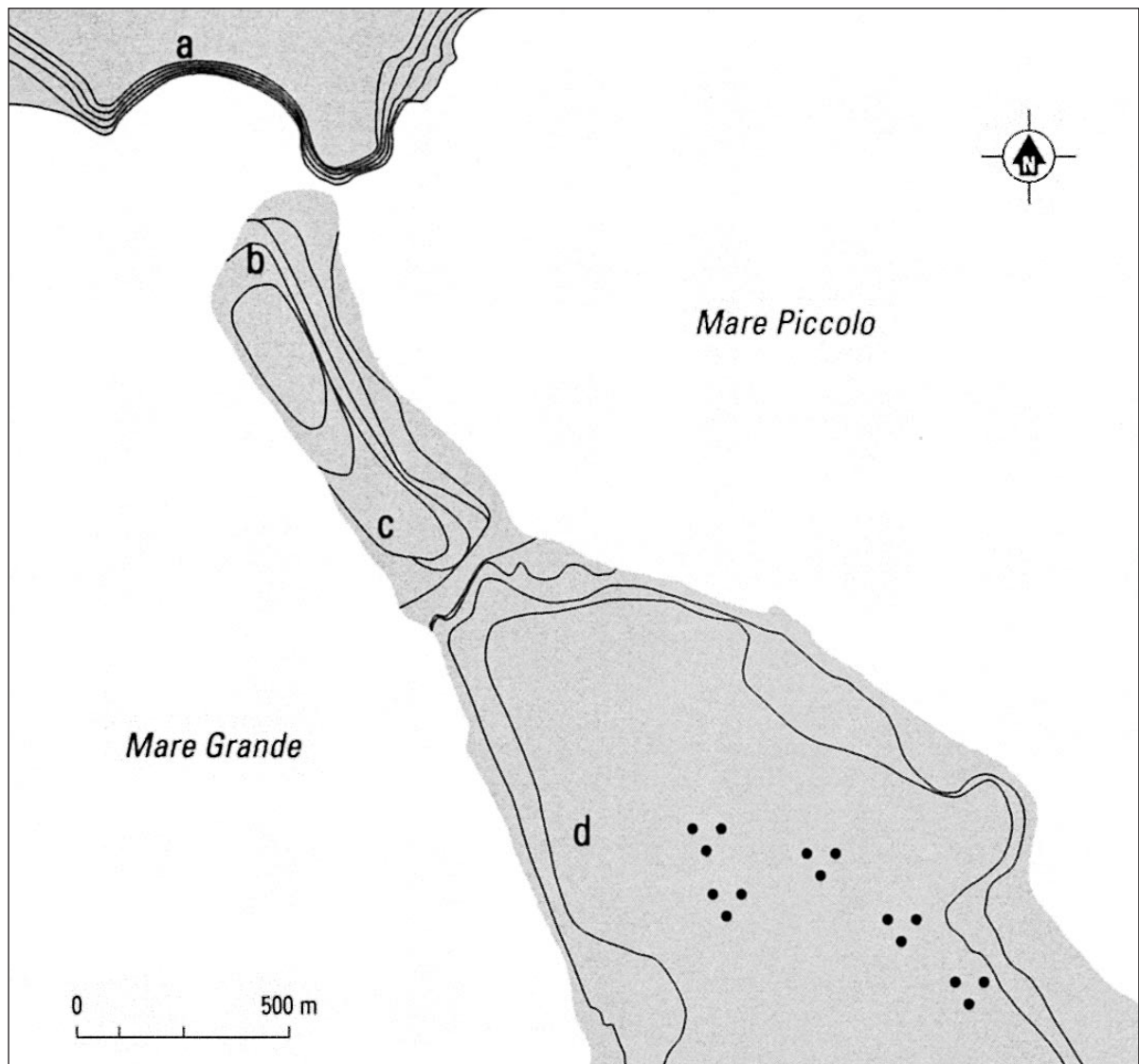


Fig. 11. Site plan of Taranto: a. Scoglio del Tonno; b. San Domenico; c. area of the Doric temple of the 6th century; d. Pozzo d'Eredità/Borgo Nuovo deposit; groups of dots: tombs with Proto-Corinthian pottery.

are the presumably limited size of the site, the sudden appearance of what looks like a Greek cemetery lacking even the slightest hint of native elements and the absence of river valleys connecting the site to a native hinterland. The present evidence indicates that a group of Greeks partly or completely replaced a group of natives at L'Amastuola between 675 and 650 BC.¹⁸

3.5. Taras (Fig. 11)

Taras lies on the coast, at the narrow entrance to a small lagoon-like bay (the *Mar Piccolo*) which pro-

vides a good, sheltered harbour (Fig. 1). Unlike Siris/Policoro, L'Incoronata and Metaponto-Andrisani, there are no substantial river basins near the site that might provide easy access to a hinterland. The early Iron Age settlement has been built over many times, in both ancient times (like Siris/Policoro and Metaponto) and post-antique times (unlike any

¹⁸ The only remaining explanation that the native group living at L'Amastuola adopted almost overnight a completely Greek material culture is not very plausible. The present evidence suggests that the various native groups in southern Italy were highly selective in adopting Greek cultural features.

of the preceding sites). Taras can be shown to have had complete continuity of occupation from the Iron Age to the present day and occupation of the site is now very intense. Accordingly, it is only possible to collect data on the native, Greek and Roman phases of the settlement in a patchy way, from small plots in the present-day town.

Finds probably related to an 8th century native population have come to light at various places within present-day Taranto. The best-known find spot here is probably Scoglio del Tonno ('Tunny Reef'), if only because of its impressive late Bronze Age phase (e.g. Taylour 1958) (Fig. 11a). The site is located on the heights to the west of the entrance to the *Mar Piccolo*. Scoglio del Tonno was partly excavated in 1899, shortly before it was finally destroyed (e.g., *Cento Anni*, 276 ff.). Information on the fragments of regional matt-painted pottery and imported wares that has been published to date, suggests that Scoglio del Tonno was indeed a settlement and that it was inhabited during the late 9th? and the 8th century BC (cf. Taylour 1958, 121-123; Biancofiore 1967, pl. XXX). The most recent sherds of this class have been dated to the close of the 8th and/or the beginning of the 7th century BC.¹⁹ In addition to Scoglio del Tonno, matt-painted wares are also reported to have been found in the 1960s, during excavations underneath the church of San Domenico. This spot is located immediately to the east of the entrance to the *Mar Piccolo* (Fig. 11b).²⁰ These finds are said to stem from settlement layers and have not yet been published. However, they are known to include some late 8th/early 7th century materials. The same holds true for digs carried out in the area of the 6th century Doric temple at the eastern end of the *città vecchia* (pre-modern town) of Taranto (Fig. 11c).²¹

A much larger, fairly spectacular find relating to the native occupation of the site was made a few hundred meters to the east of the *città vecchia*. This is the so-called Borgo Nuovo or Pozzo d'Eredità deposit. It was discovered during the construction of the *via Cavour* during the late 19th century expansion of Taranto (Fig. 11d). Reportedly, the deposit contained some 240 handmade, matt-painted pots and probably about 100 handmade impasto vessels, many of which were intact (Mayer 1908 and 1914).²² The painted pots can all be conveniently dated between the mid to late 9th century and the final decades of the 8th century (Fig. 12). The Borgo Nuovo find is completely unparalleled in the native world of southeastern Italy. Its interpretation, therefore, is difficult. In my view the vessels could well stem from a 9th/8th century native necropolis that has been carefully removed. This probably happened at some time during the 7th century BC. The contents of the graves were deposited near the area in which the inhabi-

tants of the Taranto area were buried from the early 7th century BC onwards.²³

The information on a possible Greek presence at the site of Taras is just as patchy as the evidence concerning the preceding phase. Hitherto no data regarding settlement traces comparable to those at Siris/Policoro, L'Incoronata, Metaponto-Andrisani and L'Amastuola have come to my notice. These were covered and undoubtedly largely destroyed by the intense occupation of the area known as the *città vecchia* of Taranto. This area has been continuously inhabited from the Iron Age right up until the present day. The evidence, therefore, consists solely of some burials and a few objects likely to have come from graves.

The earliest grave, almost certainly that of a Greek, is a cremation burial dating from the end of the 8th or the early years of the 7th century BC (Dell'Aglio 1990, 57). The native groups of southern Italy did not cremate their dead in the 8th and 7th centuries BC. There are, moreover, some 40 burials with

¹⁹ Cf. Taylour 1958, 122-123, items 180-185, and Biancofiore 1967, pl. XXX.i; for imported pieces, see Säflund 1939.

²⁰ These finds have been reported by Lo Porto (e.g., Lo Porto 1973b, 357).

²¹ Cf. short report by A. Stazio in *La città e il suo territorio, Atti del Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto VI*, 300, and F. Filippi, nuovi saggi nell'area del tempio arcaico di Taranto, *Studi e Ricerche del Museo Provinciale 'Francesco Ribezzo' di Brindisi* 9 (1976), 67-82.

²² I am grateful to prof. Ettore De Juliis, formerly *soprintendente reggente* at Taranto, for granting me the permission to study a part of the Borgo Nuovo find.

²³ The fact that many pots in the Borgo Nuovo deposit are complete and together cover a time span of at least 100, if not 150 years indicates that they may well come from one or more carefully removed native burial plots. The parallel from written sources is, of course, the purification of Delos by removing local graves and bringing their contents to the nearby island of Rheneia. The problem with the Borgo Nuovo deposit is that burial grounds are completely absent in the Salento peninsula of which Taranto is usually taken to have been the most western outpost. The matt-painted pots in the deposit, like the ceramics of nearby L'Amastuola, however, display links with both the Salento peninsula (immediately to the east) and the Bradano/Metaponto district (north and west of Taranto). In the latter area burial grounds of the 9th to 7th century (often with tumuli) are not uncommon. They have been found at, for instance, Tursi-Valle Sorigliano, Santa Maria d'Anglona, L'Incoronata and Altamura (e.g., Lo Porto 1969; Biancofiore 1973; Bianco Tagliente 1985). In my view the Borgo Nuovo deposit suggests that the 9th/8th century native group that lived at the site of Taranto, had the same burial customs as its western and northern neighbours in the Bradano area and may have differed in this respect from the native groups in the Salento peninsula. Because the Borgo Nuovo deposit was very close to the 7th-/6th century necropolis of Taranto, this removal could have happened somewhere during the 7th century BC with the introduction of the Greek concept of a strict separation between the area of the living and the area of the dead. In the native world of southeastern Italy this concept was not present before the 3rd century BC.

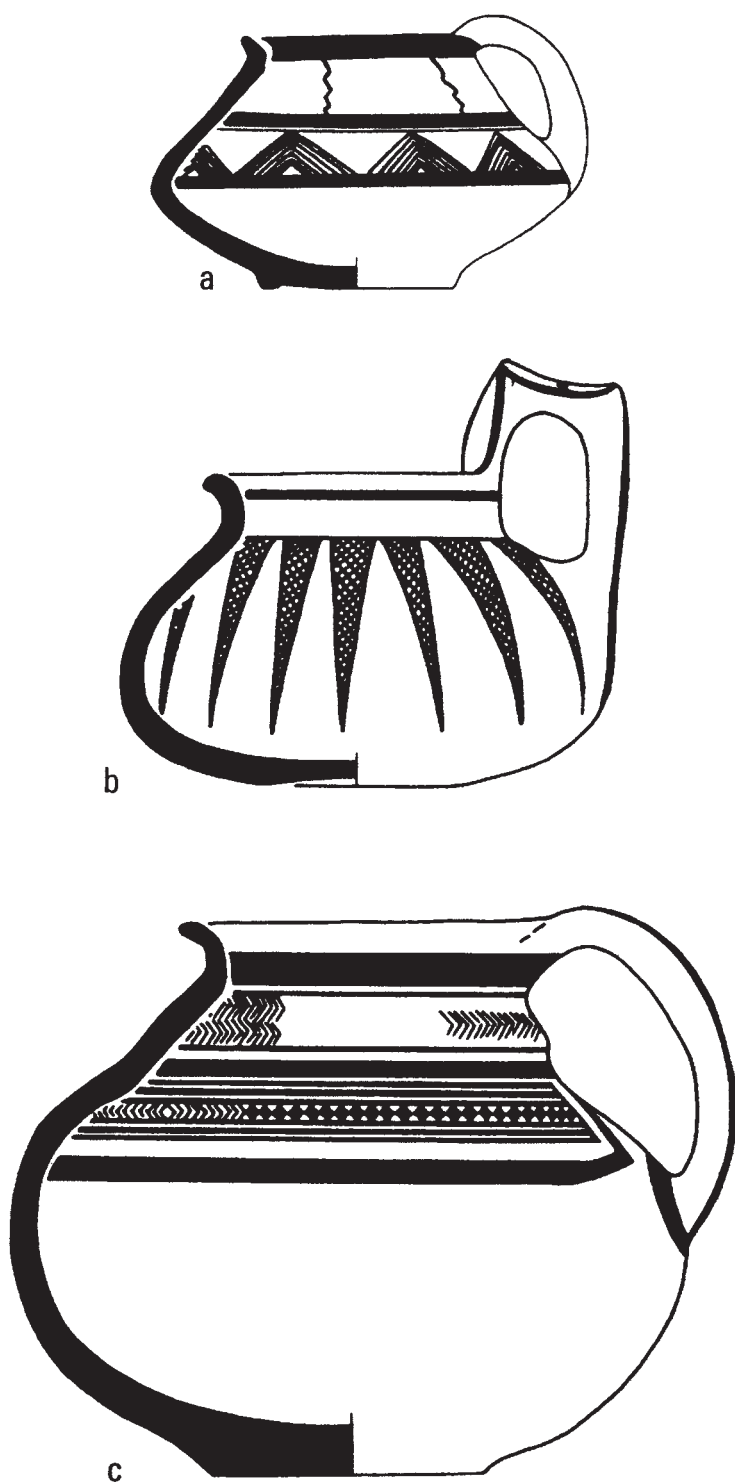


Fig. 12. Three vessels from Taranto, Borgo Nuovo deposit: a. jug (later 9th/early 8th century BC); b. jug (earlier to middle 8th century BC); c. jug (late 8th century BC).

Proto-Corinthian pottery (often aryballoi) at Taras. These suggest that considerable numbers of people were buried east of the supposedly earliest settlement area of the *città vecchia* during the 2nd and 3rd quarter of the 7th century BC. Neeft, however, has shown that the majority of these graves must be dated to approx. 640/620 BC. Only five or six burials can be dated to the first half of the 7th century (Neeft 1994, 187). By the end of the 7th century the number of graves and the coherency of the burial plots increased very substantially. In the first half of the 6th century the Tarantines stressed both their social coherence and their status by building at least one large temple in stone (e.g., Mertens 1982 and 1996).

The patchy archaeological evidence at the site of Taras indicates that the site was inhabited by a native population that had contacts with foreigners who brought in Greek pots. There were at least two settlement nuclei (Scoglio del Tonno and San Domenico) which controlled the entrance to the *Mar Piccolo*. Sporadic finds indicate that the settlement of the late 8th century BC (which was probably dispersed) extended over a considerable part of what is now the *città vecchia* of Taranto. The earliest burial (cremation) suggesting a more or less permanent Greek presence dates from around 700 BC. It was in an area that was clearly separated from the contemporary habitations of the site. The area continued to function as a necropolis for the next two hundred years or so. Prior to the last third of the 7th century, however, the number of burials is very limited. Both cremations and inhumations are found. In view of the burial customs displayed and the specific objects (e.g. aryballoi) found in these early graves at Taras, they are usually (and probably correctly) interpreted as being the graves of Greeks (or those who wished to be buried like Greeks). There is a steep rise in the number of burials towards the end of the 7th century. By the early 6th century, Taras begins to show the first physical aspects of an archaic, southern Italian Greek town: a temple, a regular lay out and a fairly coherent necropolis that is located well outside the habitation area.

3.6. Torre Saturo/Satyriorion (Fig. 13)

Torre Saturo is some 12 km south-east of Taranto, on the coast (Fig. 1). The site is situated on a small promontory rising some 20 m above sea level and overlooking two relatively small inlets on the Gulf of Taranto: Porto Saturo and Porto Perone (Fig. 13). The 1960s setting of the site has been described in rather poetic terms by its excavator (Lo Porto 1963, 283-284). Today it is surrounded by hoards of densely packed holiday cottages that have probably

been built illegally. It owes its name to the present (16th century AD) watch tower built by the formerly Spanish coastguard (Fig. 13.1) which has been built on top of the remains of a very large Roman *villa marittima* (Fig. 13.2). Torre Saturo has been identified with Satyriorion mentioned by, for instance, the Delphic oracle in connection with the foundation of Taras. In fact, a correct archaeological interpretation of the various features of the site of Torre Saturo and its stratigraphies has been severely hampered by several ancient written sources mentioning the very similar Greek toponym *Satyriorion* (cf. Lo Porto 1964a, 178-185). There are even persistent rumours that the stratigraphy of the site as published (Lo Porto 1964a), was at least partly adapted to the excavator's notion (based on these texts) that a group of natives was replaced – almost overnight – by a group of colonizing Laconians.

There are indeed indications that these rumours may hold some truth. Excavations have been carried out at the highest point of the promontory – the 'acropolis' (Fig. 13.3). In the descriptions and drawings of the stratigraphies at Torre Saturo, the native strata (upper level of stratum 5) and the 'Greek' contexts (strata 7 and 8) are clearly separated by a 5 cm thick, sterile sandy layer (stratum 6); this sterile layer 'seals' the native occupation (Lo Porto 1964a, 185-191). The presentation of the finds, however, shows that some of the native matt-painted wares (reportedly found in the deeper stratum 5) are contemporary or even more recent than some of the Greek wares reportedly found in the 'Greek' strata 7 and 8.²⁴ The rigorous distinction between the Greek strata 7 and 8 with Greek finds and the native stratum 5, therefore, is likely to be artificial.

A probably more reliable archaeological feature of Torre Saturo is the votive pit excavated by Lo Porto (1964, 231-239, 242-246). It came to light in the same 'acropolis' digs (Fig. 13.3). Presumably only the deepest part of it remained *in situ*, the pottery and terracotta statuettes that it contained must be dated from approx. 630 BC to well into the 6th century BC. The surface material suggests that votive offerings continued to be deposited until the 3rd century BC. In addition, a necropolis containing some 7th century graves (with aryballoi) was discovered (see Fig. 13.4) close to the sanctuary. This

²⁴ The publications on Torre Saturo contain several matt-painted fragments of the first half of the 7th century BC: e.g., Lo Porto 1963, 361, Fig. 71 (2nd quarter of the 7th century); Lo Porto 1964, 215 Fig. 33 nos. 12, 19, 25, 26 (first quarter of the 7th century). In addition to them there are a few decidedly earlier Corinthian Late Geometric wares (e.g., Lo Porto 1964, 224 Fig. 45 no. 2) and quite a lot of more or less contemporary early to middle Proto-Corinthian wares (cf. Lo Porto 1964, Figs. 44, 45, 46).

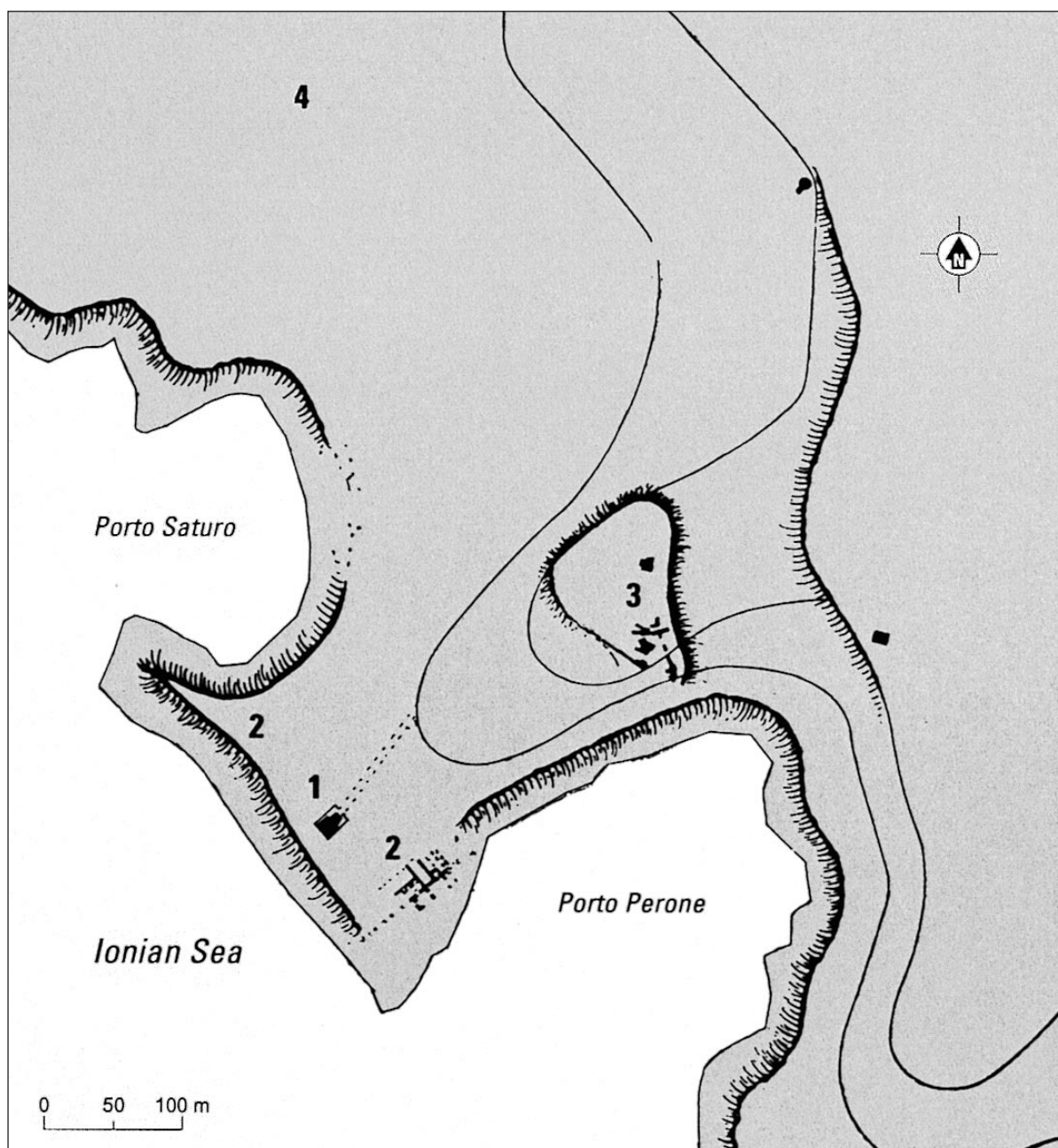


Fig. 13. Site plan of Torre Satturo; new drawing based on Lo Porto 1964: 1. watch tower (15th/16th century AD); 2. Roman villa marittima; 3. 'acropolis': 8th century settlement and 7th century votive deposit; 4. graves with Proto-Corinthian pottery.

suggests that a small, probably Greek community lived in or near the sacred area. The earliest burial dates from about 640/630 BC (Lo Porto 1964a, 257-274).

The archaeological evidence recovered at Torre Saturo indicates that the relatively small site was initially inhabited by a native group. The inhabitants maintained contacts – directly or indirectly – with people transporting early Proto-Corinthian pots. The most recent native wares from the site date from about 680/660. There are Greek ceramics from both the 2nd and the 3rd quarter of the 7th century, but – in view of the problematical reports on the stratigraphies – the presence of these wares cannot be explained. During the second half of the 7th century BC, however, a sanctuary came into being where people followed the typically Greek custom of depositing ceramic votive offerings (all of the Greek type) and other offerings. At approximately the same time, a small community was in residence here. They buried their dead according to what appears to be Greek custom, just like groups living in contemporary Taras, L'Amastuola, L'Incoronata and Siris-Policoro.

3.7. Otranto (Fig. 14)

Otranto is located at the easternmost point of Italy, on a promontory of the Salento peninsula (Fig. 1). The medieval part of present-day Otranto covers a hill flanked by two inlets which, in the Iron Age, penetrated much further inland. This part coincides more or less with the site that the Greeks called *Hydrous* and the Romans *Hydruntum*. Otranto was, and still is, a typical coastal settlement. For example, there are no good arable fields in the immediate vicinity of the site. Otranto, which lies opposite the island of Corfu and the bay of Valona, controls the 70 km wide entrance to the Adriatic Sea. When the air is clear, the mountains of present-day Albania and northern Greece can be seen from Otranto. Here the crossing from the Balkans to the Apennine peninsula can be made without losing sight of the coast.

Building activities in the late 1970s on a part of the hill slightly outside the medieval town led to the first discoveries of pre-Roman remains (Fig. 14). Emergency excavations carried out by Lecce University showed that while there were scant traces of late Bronze Age occupation in the trenches,²⁵ there were important settlement traces consisting of hut floors and artefacts dating to the 9th, 8th and 7th century BC. Several reports have been published on these excavations (e.g., D'Andria 1979, 1985 and 1995). The settlement, which consisted of huts and shacks, appeared to be somewhat dispersed. The

ceramic finds supplied further important information. The contemporary classes of regional pottery were, of course, present in the occupation layers (Salento matt-painted wares, impasto pottery). There was, however, a surprisingly large quantity of imported ceramics. The first trickle of imports started in the 9th century BC. In levels dated to the late 9th and early 8th centuries, substantial quantities of matt-painted 'Devoll' wares from present-day Albania and Corinthian Geometric pottery appeared to be present (Fig. 15). In strata of the late 8th and 7th centuries, Albanian painted wares are no longer found, but Greek (mainly Corinthian) Geometric and Subgeometric wares became abundant (Fig. 16).²⁶ A truly exponential increase of these wares can be observed in the Otranto contexts of around 700 BC. In addition to these fine wares, large imported container vessels such as trade amphoras and pithoi were found in substantial numbers, mostly of the Corinthian type (cf. D'Andria 1985 and 1995). The latter were mainly present in the shacks which, therefore, have been interpreted as being small warehouses (Fig. 17). Greek imports continued to arrive in large numbers until the 2nd quarter of the 7th century BC and seem to become less numerous during the second half of the 7th century BC.²⁷

The evidence supplied by the Otranto digs indicates that the site was continuously inhabited by a native group from the late Bronze Age onwards. In the late 9th century BC both this settlement and the opposite shore of the Adriatic (now in Albania) became involved in an exchange circuit which also involved people shipping Corinthian fine wares and Corinthian container vessels and their contents. In view of the products they carried, they are likely to have been Greeks from the area of the Corinthian Gulf. These contacts intensified during the late 8th century and became particularly frequent towards the end of that century. On the basis of the large numbers of imports and the great frequency of contacts implied by them, it has been suggested that a small group of Greeks lived at Otranto on a more or less permanent basis (D'Andria 1984 and 1996).

Otranto must have held a special position among the native communities of the Salento peninsula. It is the only site which displays evidence of such early trans-Adriatic contacts and, from about 700 BC

²⁵ On the late Bronze Age phases of Otranto, see Orlando 1983, Benzi 1983 and *Archeologia dei Messapi*, 21-28.

²⁶ This decline in Greek imports at Otranto in the late 7th century may be more apparent than real. The late 7th century is badly represented in the contexts of the Otranto digs.

²⁷ In addition to large quantities of Corinthian fine wares there are also some fragments of Euboean and Samian painted ceramics at Otranto.

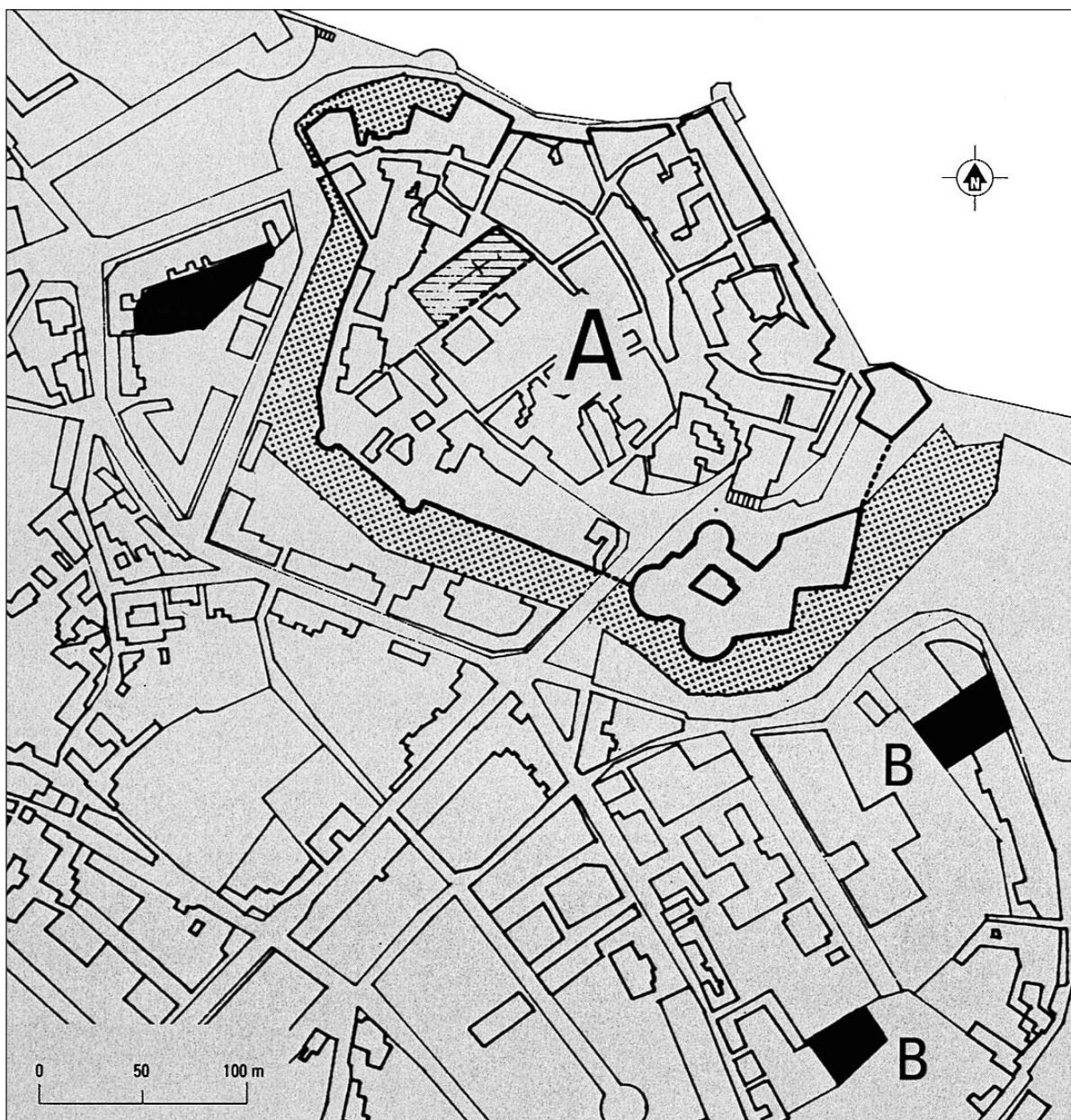


Fig. 14. Site plan of Otranto (new drawing based on D'Andria 1979): A. Medieval town; B. areas with 9th-, 8th- and 7th century settlement traces.

onwards, of such large-scale contacts with the opposite shore. While Corinthian Late Geometric, Early Proto-Corinthian and contemporary Corinthian 'A' transport vessels have been found at many other sites on the Salento peninsula, the quantities of such material retrieved from these sites are far smaller than those found at Otranto. A substantial part of the Corinthian ceramics found at inland Salento sites probably entered the native exchange networks through Otranto.

The settlement of Otranto, therefore, may well have been an important port of call for Greek ships sailing to the west. It first gained this status in the late 9th century BC. The contacts between Otrantines and Greeks were especially regular and frequent in the late 8th and early 7th centuries BC. The site may have declined in importance during the second half of the 7th century, but this is uncertain.

3.8. Brindisi (Fig. 18)

The geographical setting of Brindisi is comparable to that of Otranto (Fig. 1). Known as Brentesion, the site derives its name from the two large, deep, forked inlets that flank the hill on which it is located. According to Strabo (VI, 3, 6), this name derives from the Messapic word for a stag's antlers, *brenta*. These inlets make excellent sheltered harbours. A small, perennial stream discharges in each of the two inlets (Fig. 18). The hill between these inlets must have contained the native settlement which eventually became the Latin colony of *Brundisium* in 244 BC (e.g., Sirago 1993). The site can be demonstrated to have been continuously inhabited since the 6th century BC (sporadic finds). The analogy with Otranto, however, suggests that the settlement of Brindisi might have its origins in the late Bronze Age.²⁸ There are, furthermore, a few sporadic finds of matt-painted pottery dating from the 9th and 8th centuries BC, suggesting that a native settlement existed here at that time.²⁹

The most coherent early find from Brindisi from the period in question, however, is a small necropolis. It was discovered in 1911 in the so-called Tor Pisana area, which is now the southern part of Brindisi's railway yards. This spot – outside the medieval town – is several hundreds of metres from the area where sporadic finds of matt-painted wares have been reported. The necropolis consisted of a group of cremation and inhumation burials containing mainly aryballoi and kotylai (Lo Porto 1964b). For some unknown reason (perhaps because they were badly broken) the kotylai ('with birds') have vanished into thin air. The aryballoi, however, are still present in the Brindisi Museum and can be identified as Middle Proto-Corinthian. They can be dated, therefore, to the 2nd to 3rd quarter of the 7th century BC.

The most surprising thing about this necropolis is that it is completely out of place in this supposedly native part of southern Italy. Hitherto, absolutely no burials have been reported for the 8th and early to middle 7th centuries BC in the Salento peninsula (the heel of the Italian 'boot'). Moreover, when formal burials containing swords and native pots first make their appearance in the late 7th century, these are exclusively inhumation graves of the *a fossa* type. These native graves, moreover, are found in the settlement area. The Tor Pisana burial ground has therefore generally (and probably correctly) been interpreted as a small Greek necropolis near the native settlement of Brindisi. Lo Porto explained their presence in Brindisi, in the light of the ancient sources, as the graves of Tarantine exiles (Lo Porto 1964b, 127). However, in the light of the Otranto and L'Incoronata finds, the preferred view is that it is a burial ground for a small group of Greeks living in native Brindisi on a more or less permanent basis and closely linked with trade and exchange with the native world of Salento.

The very scant archaeological evidence concerning Brindisi suggests that the site was a native settlement during the Iron Age. Because – like Otranto – it was an excellent natural harbour near the 70 km wide entrance of the Adriatic Sea, the settlement may well have contained a small community of Greeks linked in some way to early Greek ventures in the western Mediterranean. This hypothesis seems to be confirmed for the 2nd to 3rd quarter of the 7th century by the cremation burials in the Tor Pisana necropolis.

3.9 A picture of 8th-7th century southeastern Italy based on archaeological evidence

3.9.1 Preliminaries

The flood of new archaeological evidence that has come to light since the 1960s enables us to construct an image of the coastal area of southeastern Italy during the 8th and 7th centuries BC.³⁰ This picture involves both Italic groups and foreigners from the

²⁸ Cf. Bronze Age settlement at Brindisi-Punta La Terrare, see *Magna Grecia e Mondo Miceneo, nuovi documenti* (ed. L. Vagnetti; supplement to the papers of the XXI *Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1981*).

²⁹ These finds are unpublished; they stem from the *vescovado* area and the medieval quarter indicated as San Pietro degli Schiavoni.

³⁰ A first and rough outline of the character of early Greek presence in southern Italy has been given in Yntema 1993a; Osborne (1998) creates a very similar picture.

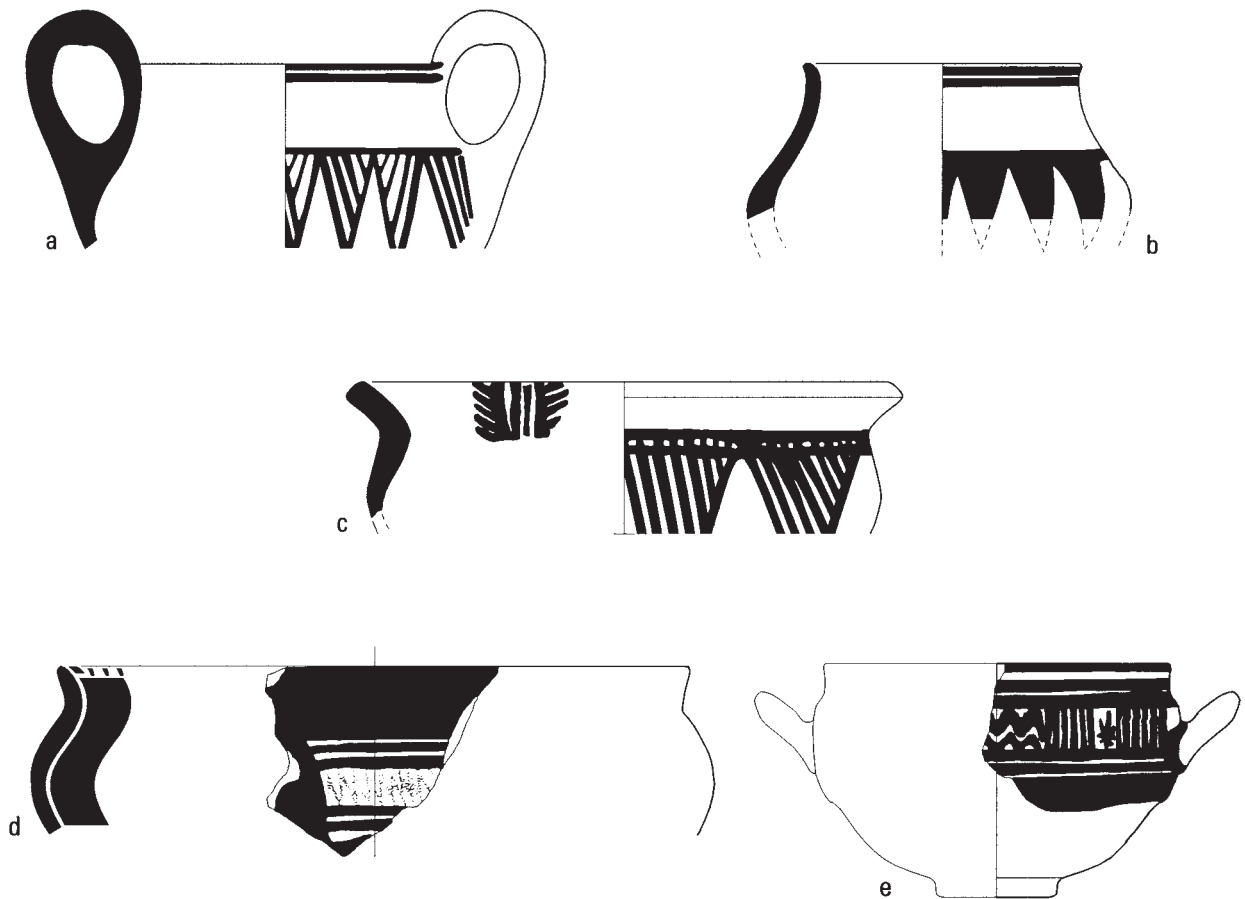


Fig. 15. Otranto: (a-c.) Albanian Devoll wares, and (d-e.) Corinthian Middle Geometric wares (after D'Andria 1985 and 1995).

eastern Mediterranean. The image of the period under discussion is, of course, fairly hazy. This is because the majority of the settlements that produced the information were continuously inhabited till the present day (Taras, Otranto, Brindisi) or prospered in later phases of antiquity (Siris, Metapontion). Here, much of the 8th- and 7th century remains have been destroyed or are inaccessible. This notwithstanding, a more or less generalized image of what happened in that particular period can be sketched in.

It is very difficult to sketch in these general lines without being strongly influenced by long-established ideas on Greek colonization that have been derived from ancient written sources. As has been said above, these sources contain the views of later Greek authors. Moreover, their texts have been interpreted by scholars from western Europe and America against the background of their own colonial and post-colonial experiences. This more recent,

colonial past played an important role in archaeologists' analyses of ancient phenomena that seemed to be of a comparable nature. We have seen that these ideas probably resulted in a rearrangement and a strongly biased interpretation of the stratigraphies at Torre Sature (see section 3.6 above). The presumed colonial past and the post-colonial present of western Europe and America continues to haunt our images on the 8th and 7th century phases of other sites in southeastern Italy. The scant evidence on early Taras, for instance, plays into the hands of those who wish to read the archaeological evidence in the light of the written accounts of the town's earliest history, which were recorded much later than the events in question.

Hence, interpretations strongly biased by the ancient written sources are particularly likely to be put forward for those sites which (in the 6th century BC) became towns that were perceived as Greek *poleis*

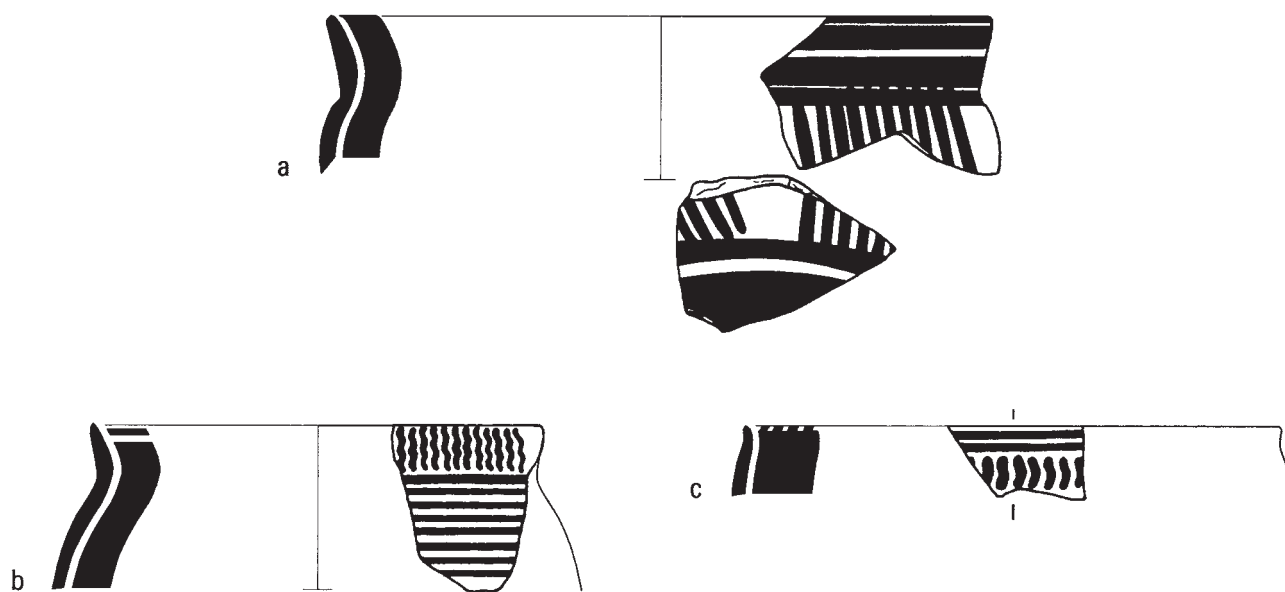


Fig. 16. Otranto: Late Geometric and Subgeometric wares: (a) Insular-Greek, (b) Corinthian.

by Greek and Roman writers from the 6th century onward. This observation holds good for Siris, Metapontion and Taras. While there is a more or less coherent body of evidence for the former two sites, early Taras is only known through some casual finds and very short, non-illustrated reports. Taras, albeit the most important settlement of the area under discussion during the 5th and 4th centuries BC, can therefore play only a minor role in the construction of an archaeological image of the coastal zone of southeastern Italy during the 8th and 7th centuries BC.

Here, I shall first try to read the archaeological evidence without taking account of the ancient written sources and the interpretations that have been proposed on this 'literary' basis. This does not mean, however, that every cliché concerning the period and area under discussion has relentlessly been discarded in the following discussion. I start from three basic assumptions which are, I think, among the more useful and possibly even more or less 'correct' generalizations for the Iron Age in the region under discussion.

- First, I believe that Italic matt-painted pottery and Italic impasto wares are usually indicative of a native presence. These classes of ceramics had a long tradition in southeastern Italy from the Bronze Age onwards and can be shown to have been produced in native contexts. Of course, individual migrants coming from across the Strait of

Otranto and living in native communities may sometimes have used pots of these classes of ceramics. However, because these individuals were probably only present in very small numbers and did not constitute Greek communities, this bias, I think, does not really affect the general interpretation. In my view, however, the absence of native wares can *not* be taken to indicate the absence of individuals with Italic roots.

- My second assumption is that many Iron Age vessels made of Aegean-Greek fabrics and south-Italian provenance were mostly transported by Greeks; they testify to an incidental, semi-permanent or sometimes even permanent Greek presence in the area under discussion. Unfortunately, I cannot offer any watertight parameters to distinguish between these three forms of presence.

- My third assumption is that the 7th century necropoleis characterized by a combination of cremation and inhumation and the ample presence of Proto-Corinthian aryballoi, represent the burial grounds of people who were either Greek or who had adopted Greek customs. The burial rites and burial gifts in these cemeteries differ radically from what was current in earlier and contemporary native necropoleis. The Greek or Greek-like necropoleis, moreover, are always outside the settlement area (Siris, L'Incoronata, L'Amastuola, Taras, Torre Saturo, Brindisi), while native burials may also be found within the

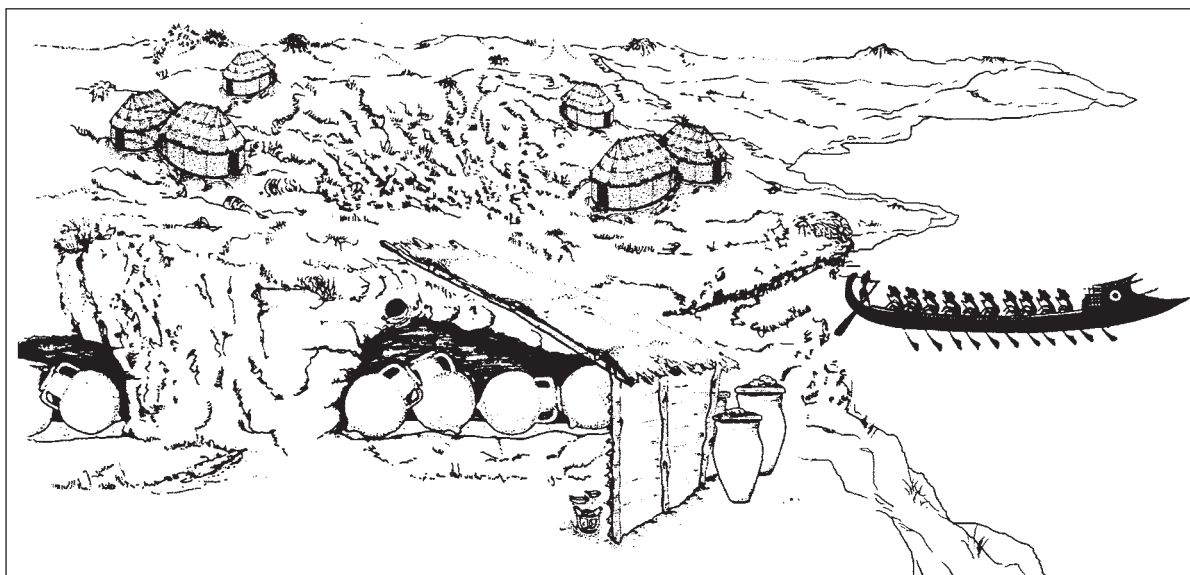


Fig. 17. Otranto: impression of early 7th century-shacks (new drawing based on a sketch by L. Bascià in D'Andria 1996).

settlement area. These Greek-type graves, moreover, are too numerous and their arrangement is too systematic to see them as incidental sailors' graves. They must, I think, be indicative of small Greek communities living in that place. This supposition, however, does not imply that every person buried in such a necropolis actually had his roots in the Aegean Greek world. A close study of certain differences in burial customs in the Siris graveyards suggests that non-Greeks were also interred here (Berlingò 1986). These, mostly small, necropoleis are Greek-style burial grounds. If Italic individuals (or even Italic groups closely associated with the Greek migrants) found the Greek practices useful or attractive, they may sometimes have imitated these in considerable detail.³¹

3.9.2. An archaeological narrative

In the early Iron Age (late 9th/8th centuries) the coastal areas of Basilicata and the Salento peninsula were exclusively inhabited by native groups. These belonged to the cultural 'province' (Müller Karpe's '*Fossakulturen*') that was made up of the present regions of Basilicata and Apulia, as well as the basins of the rivers Crati and Coscile in northern Calabria. Many sites in the coastal areas of Basilicata and Salento (probably all of them) were permanently inhabited. There were differences between the material cultures of these two southern Italian districts,

the 'cultural' transition zone being somewhere in the Taranto area. Each of these two regional cultural groups had a coherent set of features that were unique to that particular district.³²

The coastal strip of what is now Basilicata is an area of fertile, stepped terraces separated by wide river valleys. Here, the native groups lived in sometimes

³¹ Proto-Corinthian aryballoi are, for instance, also found in graves at the Basilicata sites of Alianello Cazzaiola (Bianco and Tagliente 1985, 65 ff.) and Santa Maria d'Anglona (Adamesteanu 1974, 128). These are commonly interpreted as native burials, because the remaining burial goods and the burial customs are strictly according to the native traditions of the district. It is, moreover, notable that graves are initially very rare or absent in the Salento district and appear in the last third of the 7th century BC. One might, therefore, suggest that the appearance of formal burials in Salento could have been inspired by Greek or Greek-style necropoleis such as the Tor Pisana cemetery at Brindisi, the late 7th century burial ground of Torre Saturo and the Taras graveyards. The rise of new native elites (who were the first Salentines to adopt this feature) and the first signs of urbanization of native settlements were another important features that contributed to the appearance of the first Salento burial plots.

³² The main differences are that (1) no formal burials are found in Salento before the late 7th century, while in Basilicata graves clustered around small *tumuli* (e.g. Bianco and Tagliente 1985, 53-56: Tursi, Valle Sorigliano), (2) that the Basilicata native groups lived mostly in fairly large settlements during the 8th century, while many Salento settlements had only a modest number of inhabitants (see subsequent passage), and (3) quite a series of stylistical differences between the bronze objects and matt-painted wares of both regions can be observed (Yntema 1990).

fairly large, settlements, each probably containing a few hundred inhabitants. The settlements were often highly dispersed, and can best be described as settlement clusters. The settlement area of L'Incoronata/San Teodoro, for instance, covered some 200 hectares (cf. Giardino and De Siena 1999, 27). These settlements were near the coast, but never actually on it. Our present understanding is that the principal settlement clusters in the coastal area of this district were Santa Maria d'Anglona (12 km west of Siris/Policoro), L'Incoronata/San Teodoro (6 km west of Metaponto), and Montescaglioso/Difesa di San Biagio (some 20 to 25 km north-west of the site of Metaponto: see Fig. 1).³³

The settlement pattern in the coastal area between present-day Metaponto and Taranto was slightly different. Here, the outcrops of the limestone Murge ridge reach almost to the sea. The site of L'Amastuola in this area is relatively small compared to the Basilicata coastal sites of Santa Maria d'Anglona and L'Incoronata. It is situated on a limestone spur overlooking the coastal plain.³⁴ In the Salento peninsula, the sites of the coastal area were located on coastal promontories. The Salento settlements control inlets of various sizes that must have functioned as harbours. Taras, Otranto and Brindisi may have been relatively large native settlements of the early Iron Age (15 to 20 hectares), but Torre Saturo was definitely a small settlement of a few dozen individuals. There must have been more settlements of this smaller type, but the erosion of the coastline (especially on the east coast of Salento) has probably damaged or destroyed some of them.³⁵

These coastal sites were, of course, part of a larger native world in the inland areas of Basilicata and Salento (cf. Greco Potrandolfo 1981; D'Andria 1988; De Juliis 1988). Not much is known about its 9th century phases. In view of the present archaeological evidence, however, it seems plausible to assume that, during the period discussed in this paper, the native groups of southeastern Italy were experiencing a phase of rapid development. Intensive research in Salento has shown that, while there were only a limited number of sites in the 9th century BC,³⁶ the early to middle 8th century is characterized by a fairly massive reclamation of formerly uninhabited inland areas. This led to the creation of many new native settlements (Burgers 1998). The few inland sites which had been in existence since the Bronze Age (e.g. Oria on the Salento isthmus) became very large indeed (c. 100 hectares) and may have had approximately the same number of inhabitants as the large Basilicata coastal sites (Yntema 1993c). Otranto too (and perhaps Brindisi), probably underwent considerable expansion in the late 8th century BC.

On the strength of the Salento evidence, the almost unavoidable conclusion is that there was substantial

growth of the sedentary population. Certain transformations in the arrangement of settlements and landscape can be surmised on this basis for 8th century Salento. These imply a redefinition of territorial notions within the local communities and the occurrence of territorial expansions. It is as yet uncertain whether parallel developments such as the reclamation of formerly uninhabited areas also occurred in Basilicata. However, the archaeological record here suggests that several sites became much larger during the 8th century BC (e.g., L'Incoronata and Santa Maria d'Anglona).

These changes in the native societies of southeastern Italy during the 8th century BC (even though they were probably endogenous in nature) were more or less contemporary with the renewal or intensification of regular contacts with the Balkans. Contacts with Corinth seem to have been fairly frequent. Most of the traces of these very early, Iron Age contacts (well over 600 fragments of Greek pottery) were found at Otranto. It was, however, not until the late 8th century BC that Greek ceramics at Otranto became really common (thousands of pieces). At this time also, Greek materials began to appear at inland sites in Salento and in the settlements of the coastal areas of Basilicata.³⁷ These testify to much more intense contacts between the native groups and foreigners in the area under discussion. Since the vast majority (well over 90%) of these ceramics are Corinthian (both fine wares and transport vessels), this suggests that people living around the Corinthian Gulf were extensively involved.

³³ For Santa Maria d'Anglona, see, for instance, Rüdiger 1967, Whitehouse and Whitehouse 1969, Malnati 1984, Frey 1991, and D'Ambrosio 1992; there is a huge bibliography on L'Incoronata, see, for instance, *Greci sul Basento* p. 213-214, and recently De Siena 1996 (and further literature cited there); the importance of the site cluster of Montescaglioso/Difesa di San Biagio which was inhabited from the end of the Bronze Age to within the 2nd century BC, has only recently been realized, see Lo Porto 1973a and 1989, Canosa 1986, Roubis 1996 and D'Andria and Roubis 1999.

³⁴ Palagiano in a similar environmental setting is reported to be another 8th century site in this area.

³⁵ Slightly to the east of Torre Saturo is, for instance, the promontory indicated as Torre Castelluccia which is a well known site of the late Bronze Age, but has also traces of Iron Age occupation (e.g., Taylour 1958). There are or were, moreover, traces of Iron Age coastal occupation at Santa Caterina di Nardò, Leuca (southern tip of Salento), at Torre Sant'Andrea, Rocavecchia and Torre San Gennaro (between Otranto and Brindisi), Torre Santa Sabina, Monticelli di Ostuni and Gnathia (north of Brindisi).

³⁶ In the Salento inland areas only Oria and Monte Salente can be shown to have been occupied in the 11th, 10th and 9th centuries BC.

³⁷ Only two fragments possibly belonging to Greek middle geometric wares from Basilicata have come to my notice (cf. Orlandini 1976; D'Andria 1995, Fig. 31).

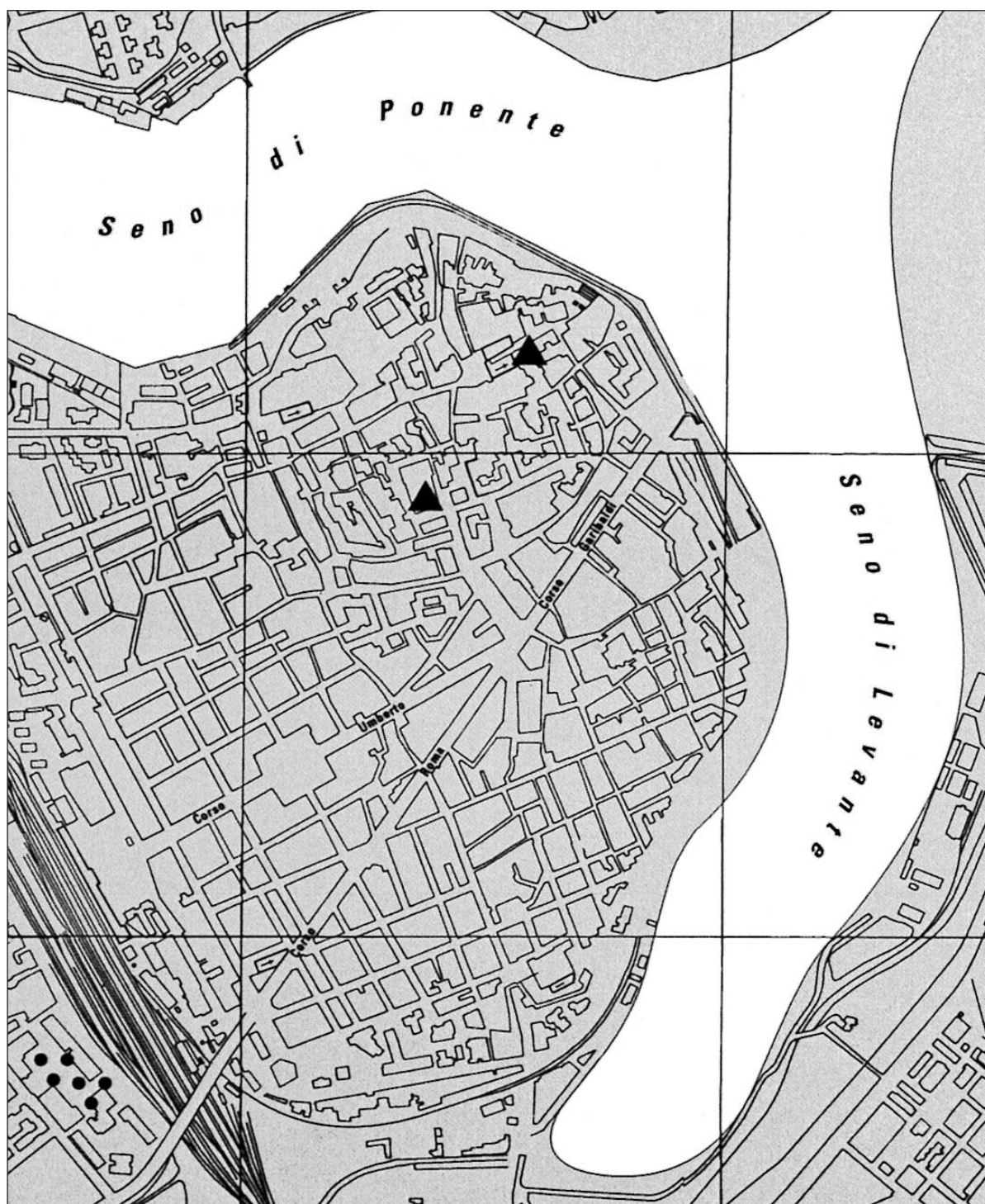


Fig. 18. Site plan of Brindisi: triangles: casual finds of Iron Age matt-painted wares; groups of dots: graves with Proto-Corinthian pottery (Tor Pisana).

It is not easy to produce sensible ideas about the character of very early Iron Age contacts between Greeks and Italic groups. Let us first consider the late 9th and early 8th century. The Otranto finds suggest that these contacts were both fairly frequent and relatively intensive in the first half of the 8th century. This indicates that the settlement was a port of call and that Greeks came here in order to exchange articles with the local population. In the perception of the Iron Age Greeks, Otranto (like Corfu) was only slightly beyond the threshold between their world and the world of 'the others'. Southeastern Italy, moreover, was a first step towards the Tyrrhenean Sea and the island of Pithekoussai. The latter was occupied by various types of Greeks and other people from the eastern Mediterranean from about 770/760 BC onwards. This does not mean that early Greeks never raided Italic coastal areas. Greeks must have taken Greek and native ships and plundered both Greek and native coastal settlements. Trading, raiding and piracy are close friends. The view that Greeks were predominantly raiders seems to have been prompted by the Homeric poems. In these, the achievement of *kleos* by various means, including raiding and traveling beyond the threshold of the Greek world, is part and parcel of the aristocratic ideology (e.g., Crielaard 1996). Those crossing the Strait of Otranto in ships, to carry out various activities in Italy, needed native communities on the coast to provide for their needs, such as water, food and shelter. Therefore, they are likely to have maintained guest friendships with native groups occupying settlements on the coast of Italy. In the early to middle 8th century BC, Otranto (and possibly Rocavecchia and Brindisi as well) was obviously one of the coastal centres on which Greek shipping converged. Its inhabitants may well have participated in a network of guest friendships that also involved Greeks. The Thapsos/Syracuse area may have been another foothold of this type. Campanian Ischia had certainly been the focal point of bartering (and perhaps a base for other considerably less enlightened activities) in the central-Tyrrhenean area since about 770/760 BC. These activities may have included the sale of booty and slaves obtained by piracy and raiding. Since these same areas were also focal points for late Bronze Age shipping (e.g., Vagnetti 1982; with Vivara replacing Ischia), prevailing winds and sea currents may have been responsible for this pattern.

By the late 8th century BC, Greek seafaring around Italy intensified. The situation at late 8th century Otranto, as described above, has led to the supposition that a small Greek community was actually settled at Otranto in that period (e.g., D'Andria 1996).

It was in some way connected to trade and exchange, since Otranto was an important port of call for those crossing from Greece to Italy. If Greeks really lived at Otranto during this period (and I think that this is plausible), they lived within, or at the periphery of, a native settlement. Very similar data have been collected from a part of the L'Incoronata site ('*L'Incoronata greca*') and very similar interpretations have been proposed. Both Otranto and L'Incoronata are believed to have harboured a small Greek community from about 700/680 BC.

The site of Otranto has not produced any hard evidence of a Greek presence in the form of Greek graffiti or burials which differ in many aspects from the native mortuary practices of southeastern Italy. Such burials, however, have been found at other sites of the area under discussion. The earliest grave of patently Greek character (cremation) stems from Taras and can be dated to approx. 700 BC on the basis of the early Proto-Corinthian pots it contained (globular aryballos and cup; Dell'Aglia 1990, 57). Similar graves with middle and late Proto-Corinthian wares (often with aryballoi) have been found at Siris/Policoro, L'Incoronata, L'Amastuola, Taras, Torre Saturo and Brindisi. These tombs are not found in great quantities, but seem to represent a completely new phenomenon that, notwithstanding the patchy character of the archaeological evidence, seems to have been fairly widespread in the area under discussion. If these burials can indeed be considered as Greek (and there is, I think, sufficient evidence to support this view), this suggests that by about the middle of the 7th century small groups of Greeks were present in various parts of the coastal strip of southeastern Italy.

The nature of relations between these newcomers and the local population is, of course, a matter for discussion. In the case of Siris/Policoro, the migrants shared the completely new settlement with individuals who might well have belonged to local groups. At L'Incoronata they occupied part of a somewhat condensed settlement in a peripheral area of the originally highly dispersed native settlement. Otranto might have been a very similar case. The Tor Pisana graveyard suggests that Brindisi, too, is likely to have had a small Greek community living in, or at the periphery of, a native settlement.

The sites of Torre Saturo and Taras are difficult cases. The distinct possibility that the stratigraphies at Torre Saturo are unreliable makes it difficult to interpret the data derived from that settlement. The site's matt-painted wares indicate that a small native group may have lived here to well within the 2nd quarter of the 7th century. They are likely to have had contacts with people in possession of Greek pots. At Taras, a native presence can be traced up to

about 700 BC (Borgo Nuovo deposit, settlement debris from Scoglio del Tonno). However, the information is based on an extremely small number of publications about the settlement's pottery. Accordingly, the analysis of a substantial lot (for instance, the unpublished San Domenico finds) may well reveal the presence of native groups to within the 7th century BC.

The preceding sections illustrate that several new features occurred in southeastern Italy during the period discussed in this paper (approx. 850 to 600 BC). First a substantial growth in the sedentary populations of native societies in the study area can be surmised. Basilicata settlements like Santa Maria d'Anglona and L'Incoronata can be shown to have become considerably larger between 850 and 750 BC (e.g., Chiartano 1977 and 1994; De Siena 1996). Moreover, a large series of new, mostly successful settlements (all inland) came into being in Salento around the middle of the 8th century, while existing settlements like Otranto show no signs of population decrease (Burgers 1998).³⁸ The growth of the sedentary population, and the new or larger settlements that resulted from it, changed the Iron Age landscape considerably. Substantial patches of scrub and woodland were turned into cultivated fields. These new features went hand in hand with increased social stratification of the native societies in the districts under discussion.

In the same period, however, a renewal (or, at the very least, a substantial intensification), of the contacts between the southern Balkans and the site of Otranto can be observed. Greek and other groups from the Corinthian orbit were involved. Hitherto, the latter phenomenon was only encountered in the Otranto digs. It is therefore unlikely to bear a direct relationship with the broadly contemporary population growth suggested by the springing up of numerous inland settlements.

A third highly conspicuous phenomenon is a first intensification of existing relations around approx. 740/730 BC (especially in Salento; guide fossil: cup Aetos 666) and an even much stronger intensification of contacts between Greeks and Italic groups from the late 8th century onwards. On this occasion, the evidence is not limited to one single site, but comes from all over the coastal area of southeastern Italy. The phenomenon is virtually contemporary with yet another new (fourth) feature, the appearance of small groups of graves (partly cremation, partly inhumation – often with aryballoi). On the strength of the third point given above, I believe these grave groups to be Greek-type burials.

The third and fourth phenomena should, I think, be linked. In my view, they indicate that a marked inten-

sification of contacts and exchanges went hand in hand with the permanent presence of small groups of Greeks in southeastern Italy. However, there are only a very limited number of early 7th century graves near the settlements and the actual numbers are influenced by certain biases. Nevertheless, this means that some of these new Greek communities in southern Italy probably only consisted of a few individuals. Most of them would have consisted of one or two dozen individuals.

There appear to be several varieties in the way the migrants were settled in the new context of southeastern Italy. Sometimes these Greeks founded new, small settlements, probably with the consent and cooperation of the local native group. Such a settlement might attract natives. This may have been the case in, for instance, a new settlement at Siris/Policoro, strategically situated near the mouth of two rivers giving access to important native settlement areas. More usually, however, it took place in an existing native settlement such as Otranto and Brindisi, both important ports of call for ships crossing the Adriatic, and at L'Incoronata, a native site with a geographical setting that is closely comparable to that of the new Siris/Policoro.

In addition to settlements with mixed populations, there may have been settlements exclusively inhabited by migrant Greeks. The Greek material culture reportedly found in the huts of Metaponto-Andrisani may be indicative of just such a variant. However it is unclear what specific criteria should be applied in order to define a given settlement as purely native, mixed or purely Greek. In situations where rapid integration is likely to have taken place between groups with different cultural backgrounds, attempts to separate these groups are somewhat irrelevant. It should, for instance, be realized that material culture is more easily adopted than views, attitudes and ideas. If we have indeed identified Greeks in the preceding sections, it was only at an early stage of these contacts and only because of the substantial differences in burial customs between Greeks and Italic groups.³⁹

³⁸ Here, initially small hut settlements, each with a few dozens of inhabitants, came into being between 770 and 740 BC. Urban surveys have suggested this pattern for the sites of Muro Tenente, San Pancrazio Salentino, Muro Maurizio and Valesio (in the Brindisi district). In the southern Lecce district the well-researched sites of Cavallino di Lecce and Vaste/Poggiardo originated in the same time, but on the strength of the present evidence Lecce, Rudiae, Soleto, Nardò, Muro Leccese and Vereto may well be added to this list. At these sites no highly intensive urban surveys have been carried out.

³⁹ Had we taken the ground plan of the dwellings as the main criterium, Andrisani with its rounded to oval-shaped huts (burials, moreover, have not yet been reported) would certainly have been classed as native. And if the absence of native matt-painted wares would have been used as a criterium for absence of native

These considerations also apply to L'Amastuola, Taras and Torre Saturo. It has been claimed that there was a Greek take-over at L'Amastuola in the 2nd quarter of the 7th century (Maruggi 1996). Here, the main arguments for the take-over are a change in the ground plan of the dwellings, the absence of native wares in the more recent (to all appearances Greek) phase of the settlement and the creation of a necropolis with what appear to be Greek burials. I believe that something like this may actually have happened. For the reasons given above, the graves are the best evidence for this, in my view. However, it should be noted that the other two indications for this change at L'Amastuola are open to debate. Firstly, in the mixed settlement of Siris, there are no native wares to support the view that natives were present. Secondly, in the supposedly Greek settlement of Metaponto-Andrisani, the inhabitants lived in huts that have the very same ground plan as the supposedly typical native dwellings of L'Incoronata. At L'Incoronata the Greek presence is said to be characterized by dwellings with rectangular ground plan.

The Taras evidence obtained to date gives no real clues as to how we should interpret the archaeological features. The six graves (probably Greek) of the first 50 to 60 years of the 7th century suggest that Greeks lived and died at Taras from about 700 BC onward. The data do not tell us whether the native occupation continued or ended at about the same time. The information from Torre Saturo is even more problematical. A community that was to all appearances Greek lived here from the 3rd quarter of the 7th century onwards. However it is uncertain whether any Greek lived here before that time and whether tumultuous events (a Laconian take-over) occurred at the site at the end of the 8th century BC as Lo Porto (1964a) supposed.

We can only speculate about the events of the first half of the 7th century. We are entering here the foggy realm of possibilities and probabilities. One can be quite sure that native groups continued to live at Otranto, L'Incoronata, and probably also Brindisi during the 7th century BC. The data for both Taras and Torre Saturo are scant and can be explained in different ways. At L'Amastuola a Greek group seems to have replaced a native community, while at Siris the dispersed new settlement harboured both Greeks and natives. The settlements of Metaponto-Andrisani and Metaponto-Lazzazera share several features with early Siris and should perhaps be interpreted in the same vein. The native settlements inland continued to prosper and may even have grown considerably in Basilicata. In Salento, the newly founded native settlements grew considerably.⁴⁰ The Greeks of southern Italy were a part of this 7th century

landscape. They may have played a role in a much wider process of changing power structures in which competition between the emerging native groups may well have been prominent. It is, moreover, plausible to assume that there was also competition between various Greek groups and between Greek groups and native groups.

There are, I think, sufficient reasons to assume that various groups of Greeks took up residence in south-eastern Italy on a permanent basis. As has been stated above, some of them lived in native settlements, others may have been the first inhabitants of an entirely new settlement. Because these groups were small and lived far from their kinsmen and basic resources, they must have been dependant on the native groups of the region (cf. Andrews 1984). The data set suggests that if Greeks were superior to the native groups (a common and often implicit assumption), it was exclusively in the know-how of Mediterranean shipping and Mediterranean exchange networks and in one specific type of craft (pottery technology).

The earliest generation of Greek settlers was, therefore, unable to survive on their own in southeastern Italy. They were, however, attractive to Italic groups (and especially their elites) because they came from afar and brought and/or made unusual objects and special products. These were sometimes useful in the purely practical sense, but some of them could also be 'used' by the emerging local elites in order to stress their status.⁴¹ Having contacts with these foreigners could by itself enhance someone's elite position.⁴² The elites allowed Greeks to settle within their territories (the cases of Siris and Metaponto-Andrisani/Lazzazera) and sometimes even within their settlements (the cases of L'Incoronata, Otranto, Brindisi; perhaps Taras).

inhabitants, Siris/Policoro should certainly *not* have been classed as a settlement with mixed population. Siris, moreover, would have been interpreted as a purely Greek settlement from its very start, if the Madonelle and Schirone burial plots had not been discovered here.

⁴⁰ At the site of Valesio the number of inhabitants more or less doubled; the dispersed settlement grew from about 60 to 90 inhabitants around 730 BC to approx. 120 to 180 inhabitants around 670/650 BC (Yntema 1993b).

⁴¹ The evidence that survived in the coastal settlements, consists mainly of Greek fine wares and large quantities of trade amphoras (mainly Corinthian A, but also SOS amphoras, amphoras from the west coast of Asia Minor and the islands in the Aegean; cf. especially publications on Otranto (e.g., D'Andria 1979, 1985 and 1995) and L'Incoronata (e.g., *Greci sul Basento*).

⁴² Cf. Mary Helms (1992) on the general anthropological background, and Irad Malkin on a case directly relevant to the present subject (Malkin 1998; on the earliest Iron Age Greeks in the western Mediterranean).

Such small, fairly successful Greek groups, closely connected with the Greek trade diaspora and in regular contact with passing Greek ships, may well have induced others to migrate. The socio-political situation in Greece was not particularly stable during the first half of the 7th century BC (e.g., Osborne 1996, 191 ff.). Migration to the fertile lands of southern Italy, therefore, could well be a welcome alternative from civil strife and a hand to mouth existence at home. In this period of turmoil and ferment, moreover, many Aegean Greek communities made the qualitative leap in which there was a significant break with the tribal past and in which the basic ingredients for the formation of the completely new Greek societies of the 6th century BC made their appearance (e.g., Snodgrass 1980; Osborne 1996).

The archaeological record of southeastern Italy suggests that the number of people who had Greek roots or, in any case, saw themselves as Greeks and lived in the settlements discussed above on a more or less permanent basis, was increasing during the first half of the 7th century. The appearance of various partially or completely Greek burial grounds (Siris/Policoro, L'Incoronata, L'Amastuola, Taras, Brindisi) from about the second quarter of the 7th century onwards indicates that these Greeks began to live in more or less coherent groups. In some cases, natives who closely associated themselves with these foreigners may also have been involved, notably in new or shifting settlements such as Siris and L'Incoronata. These Greek-style burial grounds suggest that these newcomers and their native *associés* are likely to have perceived themselves as being different from the neighbouring indigenous groups. Some of these small Greek communities might have been enclaves within native settlements (Taras?, Otranto, Brindisi), others lived in new settlements that originated at the fringes of the territories of native groups (Siris/Policoro, possibly Metaponto-Andrisani/Lazzizzera).

Because both Greek and native inhabitants were in regular (if not constant) contact with each other, a considerable degree of integration is likely to have taken place. Inter-marriage between people belonging to different ethnic groups may well have occurred. The radical opposition which is sometimes believed to have characterized Greek-native relations in the early 'colonization' phase, should certainly be discarded. The small groups of new Greek settlers would not have survived in southeastern Italy without substantial assistance from the natives. Like the Greek *oikist* of *Massilia*, the Greek adventurer at Siris, L'Incoronata or Otranto may have met his south-Italian Pocahontas there (cf. Van Compernelle 1983).

The small Greek groups of southeastern Italy may also have had a role in the relations between various native groups. If 'their' settlement and livelihood was being threatened by neighbouring native groups, they may, for instance, well have taken part in defensive actions of the native group in which they lived. In view of the military and organisational innovations in the 7th century Greek world (Snodgrass 1980; Osborne 1996), a relatively small group of Greek hoplites could have exerted a major influence on the power play between competing native groups. Archilochus and other sources indicate that Greeks may have acted as mercenaries in the period under discussion. Accordingly, soldiers of fortune may also have operated in southern Italy, becoming involved in inter-tribal warfare. The relations between Greek and native groups, therefore, are likely to have been rather varied. Greeks were probably able to assist natives against other Greek groups or other native communities and vice versa.

The first Greeks to settle in southeastern Italy must have been traders, craftsmen, mercenaries and other types of adventurers. Since these Greeks can be shown to have had three territorial states in the area under discussion in the 6th century BC (Siris/Policoro, Metapontion, Taras), some of these 7th century Greek residents must somehow have managed to acquire an area of land. Since Greek traders and artisans are unlikely to have been full-time specialists, the first Greeks in southern Italy may have been allowed to practice agriculture and stock raising. However, we are quite unable to give a detailed account of how this situation might have arisen. Rewards for services rendered to native chiefs, or marriage to a native partner may have created opportunities in this field. The postulated Greek take-over at L'Amastuola around 680/670 BC, for instance, could well represent a gift of land. This could have been granted by a local or regional native overlord to a group of closely allied Greeks who assisted him in the seizing lands and settlements from a competing native group in the area.

Initially, the Greeks were probably welcome guests who supplied interesting extras to the native groups. In the course of the 7th century, however, exchange with these outsiders increasingly became a structural element in the native economies. In theory, it would have been easy to throw the foreigners out, as they were massively outnumbered by the native groups. However, they can be assumed to have developed close social ties with native groups by means of guest friendship, inter-marriage etc. Furthermore, they played an important role as middlemen between the native groups of southeastern Italy and Mediterranean exchange networks in general. As a result, their position within or at the fringes of the native

communities of southern Italy may have been fairly comfortable. Greek craftsmen such as the Greek potters of L'Incoronata, moreover, were more than just guests. They catered to a regional clientele consisting perhaps initially of Greeks, but soon their products also began to reach natives (e.g., the so-called *coppe a filetti*). They may well have been among the valued, permanent inhabitants of the settlement. In this way, the relatively small groups of Greek traders, artisans and mercenaries became an almost indispensable part of the south-Italian (predominantly native) scenery. This meant that Greeks and natives in the area under discussion became more and more mutually interdependent during the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 7th century BC.

Between 640 and 620 BC, an entirely new phenomenon made its appearance. While the number of Greek-style formal burials increased only very moderately in the 3rd quarter of the 7th century, their numbers rose exponentially at Siris, Metapontion and Taras in the late 7th century. The burial plots, moreover, display a much larger coherency in this latter period than in the first 75 years of the 7th century (e.g., Neeft 1994). They indicate that the three communities underwent substantial growth. These three settlements in the coastal area of southeastern Italy were developing into Greek urban centres, which by the 6th century had clearly become the territorial states of Siris, Metapontion and Taras. It should be noted that at least two of the three settlements (Siris/Policoro and Metapontion) which were basically Greek towns in the 6th century BC, are likely to have started life as new, emporion-like settlements at the periphery of native territories in the first half of the 7th century BC.

These dramatic changes all occurred within the fairly short period of perhaps 50 to 60 years. A series of what appear to be Greek sanctuaries came into existence, both urban and rural;⁴³ public buildings were erected, such as the *sacella* and temples of Metapontion, Siris and Taras, the enigmatic *ikria* at Metapontion and the defenses of Siris.⁴⁴ At Metapontion, the surrounding countryside was divided into regular plots. Here, rural farmsteads and hamlets arose shortly after the middle of the 6th century. This data strongly suggests that there was some kind of central authority behind the actions that resulted in these archaeological features. By the late 7th/early 6th century, three settlements in southeastern Italy had grown into socio-political communities that were definitely Greek in nature.

The general impression is that large, populous, urban centres came into being within a limited number of decades. At first sight, these differed little from the emerging Greek urban centres in Aegean

districts.⁴⁵ While the survival of the small Greek communities of the early 7th century depended heavily on good relations with native groups, these new territorial states of Greek type were politically – though not economically⁴⁶ – independent. They should be seen as new and fierce competitors in the socio-political landscape of the area under discussion. They differed very markedly from the contemporary native settlements of southeastern Italy. Although the latter show signs of incipient urbanization, they never display the regular (orthogonal) and relatively dense urban tissue that characterized 6th century Siris, Metapontion and Taras. They also lack the public buildings and the rural dimension (rural sanctuaries, rural farmsteads and hamlets). The sudden rise of these new centres, to all appearances Greek, decisively altered the balance of power in southeastern Italy. Whilst the small Greek communities of the earlier 7th century lived in the margins of a basically native world, the Greek towns of the 6th century were truly independent polities. The foundation and early phases of these three Greek polities in the originally native scenery of southeastern Italy therefore merit careful study. The problems to be tackled should not be confined to how and why this all happened. The questions concerning the specific character of a Greek town in native surroundings with sometimes (if not invariably) a partly native early history should also be addressed. These towns had a *chora* with a regular lay out, and they carved their territories out of a district that native groups may have felt belonged to them. Both the emerging native polities and the new Greek centres of southeastern Italy were involved in an intricate process of state formation that would ultimately result in the new socio-political landscape of the late 6th, 5th and 4th centuries BC.

⁴³ For rural sanctuaries, see, for instance, Carter 1996; for urban sanctuaries, see Bianco and Tagliente 1985 (Siris) and Mertens 1982 (Metapontion and Taras).

⁴⁴ Siris; archaic temple (Bianco and Tagliente 1985, 59); for Metapontion (early series of temples) and Taranto (Poseidon temple), see Mertens 1982 and 1996.

⁴⁵ Though the formation of more or less urban centres started earlier (cf. Samos, Eretria), the Greek settlement of Corinth, for instance, only developed into a more or less urban centre in the course of the 7th century BC (cf. Williams 1995).

⁴⁶ The territories of these towns must have been able to provide a substantial agricultural surplus (cf., for instance, 6th-5th century coins of Metapontion). The Italiote *poleis*, however, depended on the native groups for building materials (timber, stone); it is, moreover, questionable whether the territories were large enough to feed substantial flocks of sheep; the summer pastures were in native territories (mountains of Basilicata). Of course, metals had to be imported, but not necessarily from native districts.

4. ANCIENT WRITTEN SOURCES

The ancient written sources dealing with the early years of the Greek *apoikiai* in southeastern Italy consist by and large of oracles, foundation stories and tales of conflicts with the local population. Here, the sources concerning those settlements that can be shown to have been Greek *poleis* in the 6th century BC, will be briefly reviewed. They concern Siris (Bérard 1957; Huxley 1981; Lombardo 1986 and 1998; Moscati Castelnovo 1989), Metapontion (Bérard 1957; Pugliese Caratelli 1973; Lombardo 1998) and Taras (Wuilleumier 1939; Bérard 1957). There is also some ancient written information about native centres of the same area.

In addition to these foundation stories, there is a series of testimonies regarding the Greek attitudes and perceptions of the Mediterranean 'Far West' in the period under discussion. These and especially their implications for western Greek and Italic ethnicity have been expertly discussed by Irad Malkin (1998). They were aired by Greek poets of the 8th and 7th centuries, who were the contemporaries of the western ventures that eventually resulted in the presence of Greek *poleis* in southern Italy.

The ins and outs of these written sources have been discussed very intensely. It is, therefore, unnecessary to dwell upon the interpretations proposed by various individual scholars. The abridged rendering of these stories given here serves merely to compare the images derived from archaeological sources to those presented by ancient authors.

4.1. Siris/Policoro

The ancient written sources concerning Siris/Policoro have been discussed recently and into considerable detail (Huxley 1981; Lombardo 1986 and 1998; Moscati Castelnovo 1989). According to Strabo the town was founded by Trojans (Strabo VI.1.14). It shared this reportedly very early origin with many other settlements (both Greek and indigenous) in southern Italy (cf. Braccisi 1997; Malkin 1998). The foundation of both Greek and native settlements in the aftermath of the Trojan war (be it either by Greeks or by Trojans) are not supported by any archaeological evidence (Van Compernelle 1988).⁴⁷ They can be seen as myths mediating relations between Greeks and non-Greeks (cf. Malkin 1998). These stories concerning allegedly late Bronze Age foundations are indicated as 'mythical' *ktiseis* by Jean Bérard (1957/1963).

The most important passages concerning the so-called 'historical' foundation stories are given again by Strabo, while explicitly citing the colonial-Greek 5th century author Antiochus of Syracuse (VI.1.14). They suggest that Siris was founded somewhere

during the 7th century BC. No *oikist* leading the settlers towards Siris is mentioned. The actual founders were a group of people from the micro-Asiatic *polis* of Colophon. They left their home and migrated to Italy, according to Antiochus, because of the Lydian conquest of their town. Once they had arrived in southern Italy, the Colophonians seized the town of Siris from a native tribe known as the 'Chaones'.

The dating of this 'historical' foundation has been reconstructed on the basis of circumstantial evidence (Huxley 1981, Lombardo 1986 and 1998). The micro-Asiatic kingdom of Lydia became a power of considerable importance during the reign of Gyges which, on the strength of new evidence from Assyrian archives, can now be dated at between 664 and 644 BC (Lombardo 1986). Lombardo argues that king Gyges must have been busy establishing himself and fending off attacks by the Cimmerians in the early part of his reign. Thus the conquest of Colophon and the ensuing 'historical' foundation of Siris must have taken place somewhere around 650/640 BC.

The ancient written sources concerning Siris/Policoro, therefore, suggest that a settlement existed on the spot before the Greek *apoikia* came into being. It was reportedly occupied by the native Chaones. As a result of the Lydian occupation of their hometown, a large group of Colophonians migrated to the west.⁴⁸ They seized the town by force from the natives – who might have been considered to be the descendants of the original, mythical, Trojan founders. The town, therefore, was inhabited by the Ionian Colophonians after about 650/640 BC, its 'historical' date of foundation.

4.2. Metapontion

Stories of Metapontion's foundation have been recorded by various ancient authors (see Bérard 1957 (1963); Pugliese Caratelli 1973; Mele 1998). They are often confused and sometimes rather contradictory. The main author on this subject is the geographer Strabo citing the 5th century author Antiochus of Syracuse. We are told that the settlement of Metapontion (not unlike Siris) was founded twice. The first foundation according to Strabo (VI. 264) was by Nestor and his Pylians on their return from the Trojan War. This first foundation, often

⁴⁷ Thierry Van Compernelle, however, tends to see the Cretan involvements in the area as reported by ancient written sources (e.g. Herodotus VII. 170) as reminiscences of a real Bronze Age Cretan/Aegean presence in southern Italy, indicated by the numerous pieces of Mycenaean pottery in the area.

⁴⁸ An identical reaction to the (now Persian) conquest of their town is reported for the equally micro-Asiatic Greek town of Phocaea about a century after the Colophonian exodus.

indicated as ‘mythical’ (e.g., Bérard 1957, Pugliese Caratelli 1973), was evidently unsuccessful.

A second, ‘historical’ foundation is also mentioned by Antichus of Syracuse (Strabo VI. 264). The basic reason given for the colonization of Metapontion, is the innate hatred between Achaeans and Laconians. The people of the recently founded *apoikia* of Sybaris in the northern part of present-day Calabria, being of Achaean origin, induced other Achaeans to settle in the Metaponto area. This was done in order to check Laconian westward expansion from Taras. The foundation of Metapontion, therefore, was believed to be the result of conflict between two groups of Greeks. The idea that Metapontion was a town with Achaean roots was widespread and occurs as early as Bacchylides, who composed an ode for a Metapontine winner of the Pythian Games (Bacchylides X, 114, 126).

The dating of the actual ‘historical’ foundation is uncertain. While Eusebius’ dating (773/772 BC) is ridiculously early, the evidence cited above suggest that the foundation of Metapontion was believed to have occurred after the foundation of both Sybaris and Taras. Bérard infers from Antiochus’ texts that the foundation of Metapontion must have been prior to that of Siris and may have happened somewhere in the late 8th or early 7th century BC (Bérard 1963, 172). In the section following the foundation story by Antiochus, Strabo cites another, probably later, and rather naïve version of the foundation of Metapontion (Strabo VI, 265). Here a certain Leukippos is said to be the *oikistes* (cf. Bérard 1963, 172-173).

The ancient written sources on Metapontion indicate that its mythical origins were bound up with Nestor and his Pylians. This story is, of course, a typical cliché *nostos* foundation and can perhaps be explained in the same way as the ‘Trojan’ foundation of Siris/Policoro.⁴⁹ What is supposed to have happened to this mythical occupation is unclear. Sometime after the foundation of Sybaris and Taras (early 7th century?), at the instigation of the Sybarites, Achaean settlers came to live in the area, which was probably unoccupied at the time. No clashes between native populations and the new settlers were reported.

4.3. Taras and Satyrion

There is a rich body of written evidence concerning the *apoikia* of Taras (cf. Willeumier 1939, Bérard [1963], Malkin 1994a). The accounts judged to be most consistent are, once again, those of Strabo. In his *Geography* he included the accounts of both Antiochus of Syracuse and Ephorus of Cyme. Furthermore, there are passages on the same subject by Theopompus (*apud* Athenaeus VI, 271 c) and Diodorus Siculus (VIII, 21, ed. Vogel).

In these written sources, the colonist are invariably described as Laconians. However there is no unanimity concerning the true reasons for their departure from the central Peloponnesus (cf. Bérard [1963], 161 ff.). The gists of the stories given by the various authors, however, are remarkably similar. As a result of tensions within the Spartan community, a group called the Parthenioi departed. Their leader was a man called Phalantus who reportedly went to Delphi and received the foundation oracle: ‘I give thee Satyrion and the fat lands of Taras to live in and to be a scourge to the Iapygians’. The latter part of this oracle echoes Achilles’ role towards the Trojans as aired by Homer (Malkin 1991). Spartan colonists were ‘received’ by the natives and the Cretans who had already occupied the spot. It remains unclear in the passages by Antiochus and Ephorus who these Cretans actually were. Possibly they can be identified with the offspring of the Herodotean Cretans who were shipwrecked off the Salento coast when they returned from the Sicilian expedition of king Minos (Herodotus VII, 170). From the written information on the foundation date of Taras it may be inferred that the Greek *apoikia* of Taras arose shortly before the end of the 8th century. Eusebius suggests that this happened in 706/705 BC (Bérard 1963, 166).

Thus the ancient written evidence on Taras contains no reports on a ‘mythical’ foundation in the aftermath of the Trojan war. Some link with the Bronze Age is hinted at by the Cretans living in or near Taras when the first colonists arrived. There is a clear tradition concerning the name and the role of the founder, although in later times the official *oikist* Phalantus was somewhat overshadowed by the local hero Taras who appears on the coins of the town from the late 6th century onward (Malkin 1991, 1994a). The written sources, moreover, are unanimous in considering Taras a Laconian *apoikia*. The settlement was probably founded in the last decade of the 8th century BC. While the foundation oracle suggests highly conflicting relations with the native population, the way in which the colonists were ‘received’ in the stories by Antiochus and Ephorus may be indicative of a more peaceful relationship between the Tarantine Greeks and native groups of Salento. The true character of this ‘reception’, however, remains unclear. The Greek verb used here by Antiochus (*apodekhomai*) can also be used to refer to a somewhat unfriendly reception.

⁴⁹ See preceding section 4.1; Malkin (1998, 211) explains the invention of a mythical Pylian foundation of Metapontion as an element in the territorial competition between the settlements of Taras and Metapontion.

4.4. Non-Greek settlements of southeastern Italy

There are also ancient, mostly Greek written sources concerning the origins of the native settlements in the area under discussion (Bérard [1963]; Malkin 1998). Because the native population was resident in Italy before the arrival of the Greeks, their origins were invariably believed to date back to the time that the Greeks considered to be their heroic age. Their origins, therefore, are in Bérard's 'mythical' sphere. The function of these *origo* myths in defining Greek-native relationships in southern Italy has been discussed into detail by Malkin (1998).

In Salento these are often linked to the legendary Sicilian expedition of king Minos. Hyrie (probably Oria on the Salento isthmus) was believed to have been founded by Cretans (Herodotus VII, 170-171). Otranto too, was said to have Cretan origins (Bérard [1963], 412). In the case of Brindisi, there were at least two different versions. The one reported by Justinus (XII.2.7-11), is an evident 'nostos' foundation story and attributes its origins to Diomedes (cf. Bérard [1963], 358). A second version produces a rather suspect eponymous hero-founder named Brentus, said to be the son of Herakles and a local lady called Balesia (Bérard [1963], 399). The lady must have had something to do with the native site of Valesio ('BALETHAS' on its rare 5th century BC coins), some 14 km south of Brindisi. In Basilicata the unidentified native settlement of Lagaria (somewhere between Siris and Metapontion) was said to have been founded in the aftermath of the Trojan war by Epeios, one of Nestor's followers and the builder of the Trojan horse (Bérard [1963], 176; Malkin 1998, 213-214).

4.5. Iron Age poets

Homer, or the *aoidoi* who contributed to the Homeric poems, must have lived somewhere during the period discussed in this paper. Although the poems were probably still orally transmitted in those times, there is sufficient reason to assume that what was ultimately written down in later times, is basically an Iron Age text. Since considerable parts of Homer's *Odyssey* deal with lands that Greeks almost unanimously placed in the western Mediterranean, it may contain some information on early Greeks in this region.

The usefulness of Homer as a source of information on the Greek Iron Age, however, has been hotly debated in recent years. I therefore feel that it is necessary to state my own views on this delicate matter. I think that Raaflaub (1998) is probably correct in assuming that Homer's world is not just a completely 'fictive universe' as Cartledge (1996) believed. Raaflaub argues that the heroic actions

with all their mythical dimensions had to take place against the background of a socio-political world that – though perhaps depicted in a deliberately archaic way in quite a number of its aspects – was close enough to the Greek public of 'Homeric' times to be acceptable and recognizable. On this basis, he concluded that the Homeric poems in some ways reflect a historical stage of social development in early Greece (Raaflaub 1998, 170).

Raaflaub's conclusion is attractive and seems plausible. The Homeric *aoidos* probably had to tie in with the ideas and concepts of his public in order to be accepted, understood and appreciated. The most crucial word in Raaflaub's conclusion, however, is the term 'historical'. If the term indicates that we may expect to encounter Homer's social or economic world in our settlement digs, then Raaflaub may well be mistaken. Much of Homer's socio-political 'background' may well turn out to be an ideological construct. It may have existed mainly in the minds of 8th and 7th century Greeks. The Homeric poems contain, for instance, no realistic sketch of the socio-political systems in which their public participated. They are likely to contain a mix in which both ideological discourse and daily practice are strongly interwoven, where heroic past and everyday present were fused. They air, in any case, the norms, the values, the ideas and the ideals of the audience, and especially of the aristocrats for whom the Homeric bards performed.

The world that serves as the background to the mythical actions of the Homeric heroes is probably partly *ideal* in nature. The mix was highly recognizable and completely acceptable to contemporary Greeks, but may well have had a somewhat loose relation with the real world of these Greek groups of the late 8th and early 7th century BC.⁵⁰ Some Greek aristocrats and their followers actually must have done 'heroic' things as described in the Iron Age epic poetry, but the overall image created by these poems contains more discourse than practice. If some trace of it can be found in the archaeological record, it should be in the objects produced for the elite and in the burials of 'Homeric' times. These may be expected to reflect this ideal world, because ideological aspects are very likely to be expressed in these particular contexts.

The impression that can be gained from the Homeric poems is that the west was full of unknown horrors such as Scylla and Charybdis. It was peopled with

⁵⁰ Focusing on the ideologies expressed in these poems, Malkin (1998) recreated a mental map of the earliest Greeks of the Western Mediterranean in a highly convincing way.

man-eating giants like Polyphemus and other Cyclopes, with beautiful and bewitching goddesses such as Circe and Calypso. It was the home of gods who turned against you when you stole their cattle and the world of the awful Laestrygonians who treated those who raided them in a particularly nasty way. In short, in the perception of 8th century Greeks the western Mediterranean was a land of dangers and breathtaking adventures, raids and *liaisons dangereuses* with highly attractive foreign ladies.

The ethnic implications and the perceptions of Greek and native groups that can be read into Odysseus' return and other *nostos* stories have been dealt with by Malkin (1998). The ideological background of achieving *kleos* has been discussed by others (e.g., Crielaard 1996 and 2000). In the perspective of this paper it should be noted that, in the Odyssey, the western Mediterranean was evidently perceived as a world that was far beyond the scope of most Greeks. Homer had only a vague notion of its geography. Furthermore, the few individuals who had actually visited these areas told very tall stories about the things they had heard, seen and experienced in the lands of the Beyond.

The lyric poet Archilochus of Paros lived and worked somewhere around 650 BC. That is probably some 50 to 80 years after the core of the Odyssey came into being. Archilochus explicitly mentions Siris (*apud* Athenaeus XII, 523 d). It is unclear whether the term 'Siris' indicates the settlement or the river after which the settlement was allegedly named. The poet was, however, keenly aware of the excellent opportunities offered by southeastern Italy when he spoke about the fat lands around (the) Siris. His lines, moreover, show a perception of southern Italy that is fairly different from those aired by Homer and Hesiod. Some aspects of their perceptions may, of course, be due to the difference in literary genre. Homer wrote epic poetry while Archilochus composed lyrics. Just as Homer's social picture of Homeric society may well be a mix between everyday life and ideology (see next section), Homeric geography might well be a mix of mythical and real landscapes. Some of his passages about Sicily did indeed show some awareness of actual geographical features (Crielaard 1995). However, those who had actually been to the western Mediterranean, knew that Out There the world was quite different from the one portrayed in Homer's songs.

Archilochus, however, conveys the impression that, by about the middle of the 7th century, people's views concerning southern Italy had changed. It was no longer seen as an almost mythically distant area that provided occasional Greek sailors with booty

from raiding and *kleos* for its exotic remoteness. It was a fertile land, well within the scope of many Greeks, that in Archilochus' view was obviously very preferable to nearby stony Thasos as an area for Greek settlement. Archilochus' text indicates that by about the middle of the 7th century BC southern Italy was no longer the exclusive domain of Greek adventurers, but a very good land for farmers and, perhaps, mercenaries. It seems that the mental distance between Aegean Greece and southern Italy had diminished considerably within the 50 to 80 years which separate Archilochus from Homer.

4.6 A picture based on ancient written evidence

If the core of the Odyssey indeed dates from about the later 8th/early 7th century BC, the epos indicates that in that period the western Mediterranean was perceived as a strange world, attractive for its exotic women and the opportunities it offered for raiding. Since the area was peopled by giants and other strange creatures, it was also a dangerous world. Those who had been there and safely returned to Greece, had survived storms at sea, resisted the various temptations of the lands of Exotica, and overcome the unspeakable horrors which were part and parcel of that distant world. Such people had achieved *kleos* and could boast of having been out there, far beyond the threshold of the Greek world.

The foundation stories suggest that, in the course of the late 8th century, substantial groups of Greeks entered this 'exotic' world and began to take up residence there. The Tarantines were the first to settle in the area discussed in this paper (late 8th century). Greeks made that move because of ferment and tensions in their societies in Greece. The written evidence suggests that Metapontion and Siris were settled in slightly more recent times (first half to middle of the 7th century). By the 6th century BC, these migrant settlements in Italy had developed into highly prosperous Greek towns of *Megalè Hellas*, which appeared to be truly territorial states. This was the process that modern historical accounts of the early Greek world usually have described as 'Greek colonization'. While the foundation stories about Siris and Metapontion differ significantly from the 'colonial' narrative patterns identified by Dougherty (1993), the foundation stories concerning the settlement of Taras are the very prototype of the 'poetics of colonization'. They involve instability and crisis in the Greek 'root' society (Sparta), consultation of the Delphic oracle, and return to a situation of stability (the foundation of Taras).

The early Greek migrants are reported to have come from various parts of the Greek world. The settlers of Siris were believed to have come from Colophon,

the settlers of Metapontion were said to come from the northern strip of the Peloponnesus and the founders of Taras reputedly had Laconian roots. According to the ancient written sources, there was obviously a considerable amount of competition between these Greek groups in the new Greek world of southern Italy. Achaean Metapontion was founded at the instigation of Achaean Sybaris in order to check the expansionist moves of Laconian Taras. Ionic Siris was probably never loved by its Doric neighbours. It was reported to have been destroyed in 535 BC by what appears to be an 'Achaean' coalition consisting of the *poleis* of Croton, Sybaris and Metapontion.

The foundation stories differ from Homer in yet another aspect. While in Homer the west appeared to be populated with monsters, giants and seductive goddesses, at the times of the *ktiseis*, native southern Italy appears to be populated by perfectly normal men and women. These were people to whom you could talk (most probably after some initial difficulties), with whom you could trade and exchange, and whom you could love or fight. Usually, however, there is a strong Greek-barbarian antithesis in foundation stories. In the short report on the foundation of Metapontion, no tensions are mentioned. However, the foundation of Siris, for example, entailed sacrilege and brutal violence against the local inhabitants. While the Strabonian foundation stories concerning Taras contain no evident signs of Greek-native clashes, the foundation oracle in the very same source presages little good for the native populations of the surrounding area. The Tarantines are destined to become a scourge of the Iapygians. Archilochus' contribution to the picture of early southeastern Italy, based on written sources, is limited. Evidently, he had some inkling, perhaps even a fairly detailed knowledge of western Mediterranean geography and knew the Siris area to be very fertile. In his view it was a good place for settlement. In Archilochus' time southern Italy was no longer part of the strange and unknown world beyond the liminal point of Ithaca. It belonged to a world with which many Greeks were fairly well acquainted.

5. TWO PICTURES COMPARED

The archaeological evidence suggests that the first traceable Iron Age contacts between southeastern Italy and Aegean Greece came into being in the late 9th century BC and began to intensify in the early 8th century BC. The period has often been referred to as the pre-colonization phase. It is approximately the time when the 'pre-colonial' hero Odysseus (from the literary sources) happened to end up in the

lands of Beyond. Those who had been Out There, could tell tall stories about these far-away worlds since practically no one knew them or had been there.

In the *nostoi* Odysseus has been portrayed as both raider and trader. Both will have occurred, but the recent finds at Otranto and Pithekoussai suggest regular and fairly frequent contacts. So the Viking-like raids of the Ithacan can be partly characterized as macho talk intended to impress the audience and to achieve even more *kleos*. Such actions also appear to be very risky (cf. the stories on the Laestrygonians and the cattle of the sun god). Greek raids on natives almost certainly occurred in southern Italy in the late 9th and early 8th centuries. The same probably holds good for native assaults on Greek traders. Piracy and robbery are the cheapest (though not invariably the most profitable) forms of exchange in the long run. Trade and exchange between Greeks and indigenous groups, however, must have taken place much more often than the tall stories told by Odysseus and other *Nostoi* heroes would have us believe. Evidently, there were a number of ports of call that also functioned as ports of trade (Otranto and Ischia among them). Here, goods were exchanged on a regular and frequent basis. Such bartering was likely to have been based on guest-friendship relations or some other relatively regulated form of transcultural contact.

The Odyssey, therefore, reflects the way the far west was viewed in Aegean Greek areas in approximately the late 9th and 8th centuries BC. Euboeans, Corinthians and other Greeks saw it through the eyes of those compatriots who had been in evidently eerie corners of a very different world. The descriptions of a world of fables, fairies and monsters suggests that the Greeks who stayed at home, were basically unacquainted with the geography and ethnography of those areas. The tall stories told about the western Mediterranean in the 8th century BC, moreover, have close parallels in those told by the first Greeks entering India (cf. the surviving passages of Ctesias' *Indica*) and the first western Europeans venturing into the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Oceans in the late 15th and early 16th centuries BC (Fig. 19). The presence of monsters like Polyphemus, Scylla and Charybdis in the Odyssey, therefore, cannot be ascribed exclusively to the heroic *kleos* ideology of the Greek aristocrats of Homeric times. These monsters are part and parcel of a more general and widely diffused notion that there are aliens beyond the limits of the world that is familiar to us.

The archaeological information on the earliest phase of a Greek settlement-away-from-home is often, if

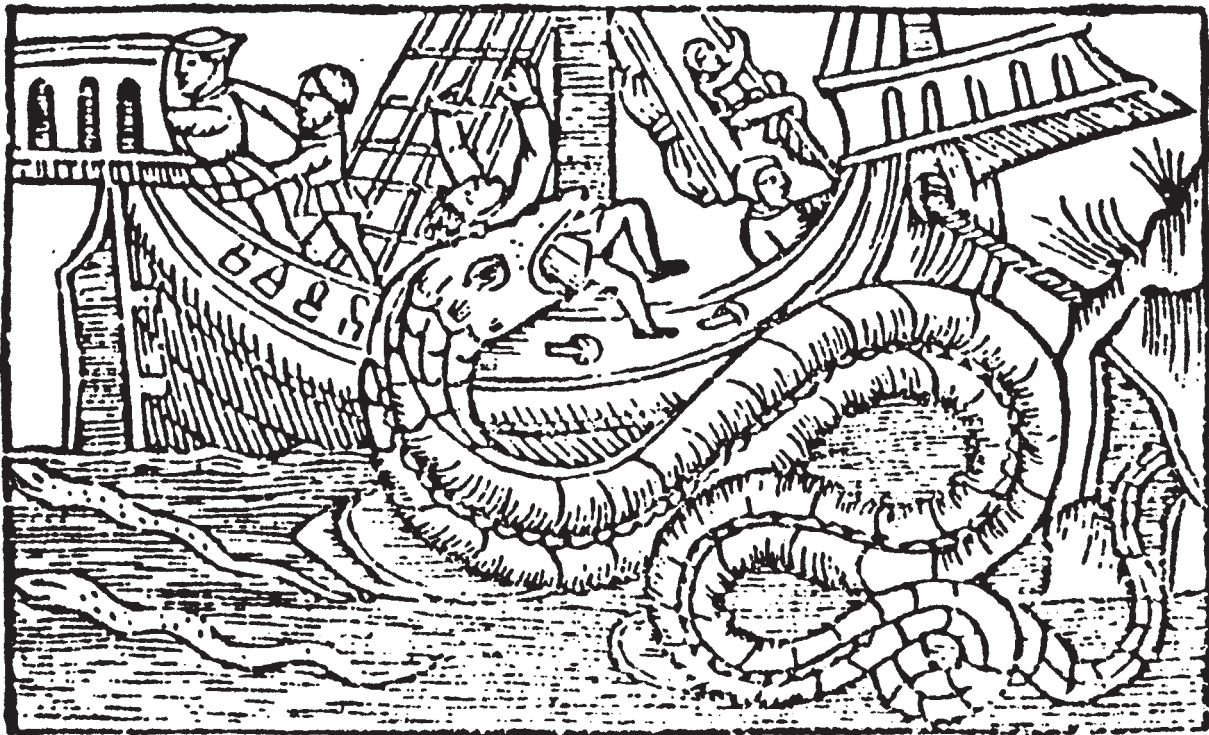


Fig. 19. *Sailing unknown seas in the 16th century AD* (woodcut in: Olaus Magnus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, Rome 1555).

not invariably, very patchy. This means that interpretations based on this type of evidence have to tie together a series of loose ends and hope to derive patterns and images from the scanty remains uncovered by the archaeologists. The picture presented in section 3.9 above on the coastal settlements of Basilicata and southern Apulia, however, is rather explicit in several respects. It allows the archaeologist to generate a colonization landscape with a series of 8th- and 7th century settlements that can be compared with the colonization landscape derived from ancient written sources.

The information supplied by ancient authors on the same subject is even more patchy. These stories are invariably part of a narrative composed by a relatively recent author citing earlier sources, which are never contemporary to the actions described. They present, moreover, some problems which are comparable to those of the Homeric poems, when one wishes to use them as 'historical' information. Like the songs of Homer they are likely to be based on oral traditions. The events they describe occurred in a period when literacy was not yet widespread. They differ, however, from Homer in that they do not offer a fairly well-preserved, ideological construct rooted in Iron Age views, perceptions and traditions.

In this section, some of the differences between these two pictures of Greek migration will be succinctly discussed. First it should be noted that there are discrepancies between the foundation dates suggested by the written sources and those derived from the archaeological evidence. Siris, for instance, was reportedly founded somewhere around the middle of the 7th century BC (see section 4.1). The earliest traces revealed by excavations, however, suggest that the dispersed settlement originated somewhere around 700/680 BC and did not develop into a more or less urban centre before the late 7th or early 6th century. It might be that the discrepancy is due to people's belief that the influx of Colophonians around 650 BC was the 'true' foundation story. This is an unsatisfactory solution, because in this way many elements of the foundation story of Siris remain unexplained.

At Metapontion, again, the first traces of a more or less urban community date to the late 7th/early 6th century, while the written sources seem to indicate that the *apoikia* started somewhere during the early 7th century BC (see section 4.2). Here, however, the 'gap' can be conveniently explained away by taking into account the settlement nuclei with small huts (Metaponto-Andrisani and Metaponto-Lazzazera)

which originated at about 680/670 BC: humble 7th-century origins culminating in the opulent city state of the Archaic period. The finds at Andrisani and Lazzizzera, however, are very similar to those at early Siris and *L'Incoronata greca*. Their strongly 'Ionian' character is quite unlike what archaeologists would expect of the material culture of an 'Achaean' colony. It has been suggested that both 'Ionian' Andrisani and 'Ionian' *L'Incoronata* fell victim to the same Achaean/Doric influx around approx. 630 BC (e.g., Orlandini 1982; *Greci sul Basento*, 37). It should, however, be noted that this extremely 'convenient' link between material culture and ethnic identity is very much open to debate. Here also, the Metapontion case shows a lack of agreement between a foundation story and the archaeological evidence.

Taras seems to be a clear-cut case demonstrating a close correspondence between ancient written sources and archaeological evidence, especially concerning the moment of *ktisis*. The town is reported to have been founded towards the end of the 8th century (see section 4.3). Since the earliest Greek graves unearthed here date to approximately the same time, they seem to confirm the written sources. They have indeed been interpreted as the tombs of the first settlers. These 'Greek' graves of Taras, however, appear to occur in very small numbers (six burials for the first 50 to 60 years of the settlement; cf. Neeft 1994). They might well represent a small Greek community living in a basically native settlement (cf. the Tor Pisana burials at Brindisi). Since the information concerning 8th and 7th century settlement at Taranto is very scant indeed, the interpretation of these graves must remain uncertain.

A second highly conspicuous discrepancy can be found in the indications of the actual numbers of Greek migrants. The archaeological evidence suggests that the earliest Greek settlers in southeastern Italy were not really numerous. Their numbers varied probably between a handful to maximally two or three dozen per settlement. On the strength of the funerary evidence, the Greek groups probably never consisted of more than a hundred individuals before the late 7th century BC. This remains true even when we take into account the fact that not all of the resident Greeks were granted a formal burial in this period. The written sources, however, convey a very different impression. They suggest that larger groups of Greeks moved to southern Italy. The group of Parthenioi who founded Taras at the end of the 8th century was large enough to be considered dangerous by the central authorities in Sparta. In the case of Siris, what appears to be a substantial group of Colophonians is reported to have migrated. According to the account picked up by Strabo, the newly arrived

group was, in any case, large enough to conquer a settlement of the local Chaones. It was also able to survive among the native groups which, because of the violent nature of the Greek actions, would not have been favourably disposed towards these brutal intruders from the Aegean. According to the ancient written sources, the early Greek *apoikiai* in southern Italy were Greek communities right from the very start. Almost straight away, they acted exactly as Greek city states were supposed to.

A third discrepancy can be discerned in the relations between Greeks and natives in southeastern Italy. According to the written sources, there was a strong antithesis between Greeks and natives. There are a few exceptions outside the area discussed here (e.g. *Locri* and *Massilia*), but usually there are two clearly different groups with evidently conflicting interests. While the written sources indicate that relations were strained and often extremely violent in nature from the very beginning, the archaeological construction of the late 8th and early 7th century BC situation strongly suggests close cooperation between both groups. Greeks and natives often lived side by side within the same settlement. This observation, in any case, holds good for Siris, *L'Incoronata*, Otranto and Brindisi, while the meagre evidence from Taras and Torre Saturno can be interpreted in various ways.

A fourth discrepancy between the picture emerging from written sources and the image constructed on the basis of archaeological evidence is apparent in the rendering of the character of Greek settlement. The written sources portray the earliest generations of Greeks in southeastern Italy as groups that left their ancestral homes in order to make a living in distant lands. A substantial group moved to southern Italy in order to found a new *community*. They are basically migrant farmers, and the territoriality of these new Greek communities is quite clear. There is mostly a fierce competition for land between the newly arrived Greek groups and the native groups. The archaeological data, however, suggests that the first two or three generations of Greeks on the Gulf of Taranto were mostly adventurers such as traders, artisans and possibly mercenaries who were part of (or peripheral to) other, native communities. These Greeks begin to show signs of coherence in the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 7th century (e.g., Tor Pisana necropolis at Brindisi). However it was not until the last third of the 7th century that the communities residing at Siris, Metapontion and Taras begin to show the first signs of becoming territorial 'farmer' states. In the 6th century BC these were characterized by orthogonal town plans, public works such as temples and fortifications and orthogonal land divisions in the surrounding territories.

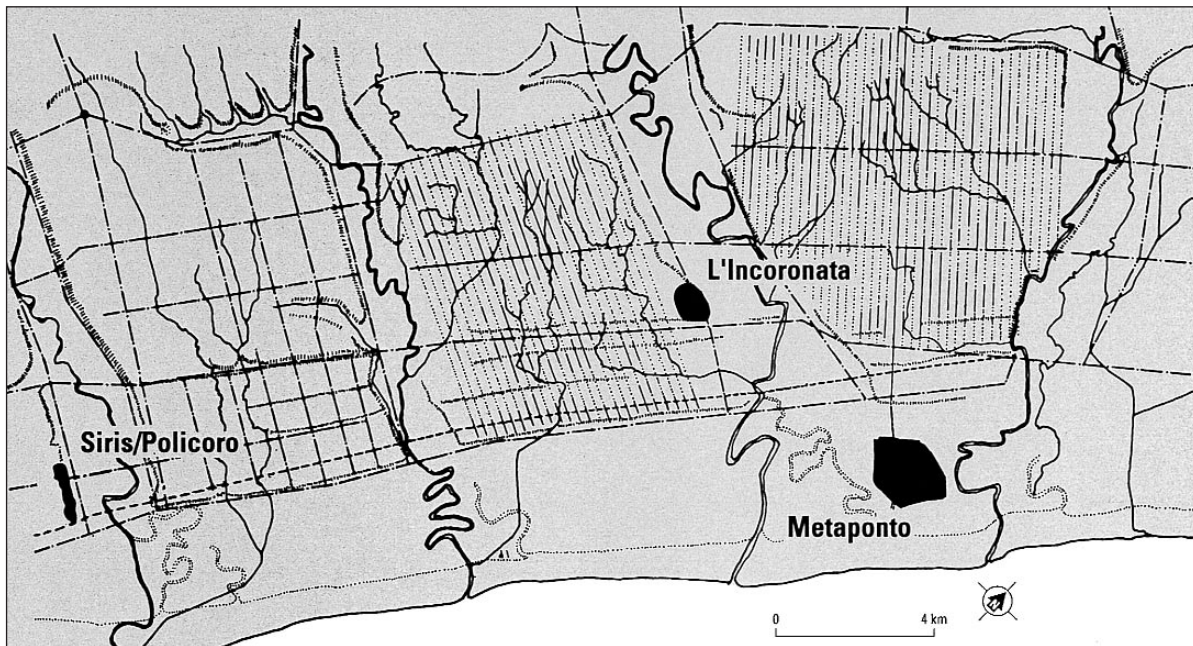


Fig. 20. Regular land divisions in the territories of Siris and Metapontion, 6th century BC (new drawing based on Adamesteanu 1974).

The highly apparent discrepancies discussed above indicate that the image of the foundations and early histories of Siris, Metapontion and Taras produced by the written sources does not correspond in many ways with the image that is suggested by the interpretation of late 8th and early 7th century archaeological features. It makes no sense to try and reconcile both types of sources in this particular case, because it is not just details (e.g., dating) that appear to differ. Discrepancies about the exact dating can be explained away by clever reasoning. What is important to notice is that it is mostly the general setting of the early 'colonial' ventures on the Gulf of Taranto as sketched by the written sources that is completely different from the atmosphere emanating from the archaeological evidence. There are the larger groups of Greeks in the written sources against the small numbers actually found in the digs. Whereas the written sources tell of their territorial behaviour, the finds suggest that they were traders, artisans and mercenaries. Finally, the strongly opposed identities and violent clashes of the ancient authors differ from the often peaceful coexistence implicitly suggested by the archaeological evidence.

The image produced by the written sources of substantial numbers of Greek farmers clashing with native groups, however, corresponds quite closely with the image that archaeologists construct for the same – now Greek – settlements in their 6th to 5th

century phases. At this time they functioned as coherent social and political communities, they had substantial territories (Fig. 20), they had bitter fights with native groups and are likely to have had strongly defined, opposing ethnic identities, although a fair number of their inhabitants may have had partly or purely native roots.⁵¹ The Greek *poleis* of southeastern Italy created images of the early history of their settlement from the 6th century onward. In doing so, they created pictures that – in view of the discussions above – basically reflected the status, policy and physical features of their contemporary settlement. They also closely mirrored contemporary 6th, 5th or 4th century socio-political views and ethnic labeling.

CONCLUSIONS

From the discussions above, it is clear that the written sources do not tell us what really happened during and shortly after the foundation of certain Greek

⁵¹ For the town of Taras many conflicts with adjoining native populations (e.g., Messapians and Peucetians) are mentioned in the written sources for both the 6th and the 5th centuries BC (cf. Willeumier 1939; Nenci 1976); in the Siris/Metapontion area the new supertribe of the Lucani was a great threat for the Greek towns of Lucania and Campania from the 5th century onward (cf. Greco Potrandolfo 1982; Yntema 1997).

towns in formerly non-Greek territory. Nor are we informed about the true character of the early settlement. The writings of the ancient authors represent a mental landscape of colonization and show us what the people living in a Greek *apoikia* of the 6th BC or later, believed to be the origin and early history of their town. The foundation story reduced the process of creating the settlement to a single event while, according to the archaeological evidence, this process actually spanned 50 to 100 years. A written story of the creation of a given colony therefore has more to do with a 6th century (or later) redefinition or re-invention of a settlement's past than with the historical moment it is commonly believed to represent (cf. Osborne 1998, 264). Evidently the settlement's past was 'not remembered for its own sake, but because it is meaningful to the present' (cf. Raaflaub 1998, 178). In the foundation stories of a Greek *apoikia* in southern Italy, the earliest history of the town can either be an invented past or a re-shaping and re-interpretation of actual events. This happened in a way befitting the town's more recent *polis* status. The process was influenced by much later social and political situations, both external and internal. The foundation story is undoubtedly a historical source, but it tells us little about the *ktisis* and early history of the settlement in question. It supplies vital information on a much later period of the town's history and tells us about the inhabitants' views and perceptions of their town during the 6th, 5th or 4th centuries BC. It is a dynamic political-ideological construct closely related to both the changing socio-political situations in the town concerned and the identities shared by its inhabitants. The story of the foundation of a Greek colony as handed down by the ancient written sources, should be regarded as an *origo*-myth.

How these stories came into being is a matter for discussion. Some aspects of these oracle and foundation stories may stem from true or invented oral traditions in the settlement's past. These traditions were adapted, transformed and re-contextualized by much more recent situations and events. Sometimes several versions are recorded for the same Greek settlement. This phenomenon of competing versions may be explained by linking these to various moments in time, various competing social groups of inhabitants and/or different local ideologies. The past can be re-shaped, reorganized and re-interpreted (Raaflaub 1998, 183). Similar aspects of this re-shaped past can be encountered in figurative scenes from the archaic period onwards (e.g., Mertens-Horn 1999).

It may come as a surprise that the past created by the inhabitants of the Greek *apoikiai* on the Ionian Sea is so patently Greek in character. Of course, the

sudden and rapid growth of the late 7th century communities of Siris, Metapontion and Taras can be explained by the arrival of larger groups of Greeks in the late 7th century. As we have seen above, the ancient traditions concerning Siris indeed suggest a substantial influx of Colophonians somewhere around 650/640 BC (section 4.1). However, at the very same site there is archaeological evidence indicating native participation in the earliest phase of the settlement. The ferment and change reported in the 7th century native world suggest, moreover, that a fair number of autochthonous natives were included among the inhabitants of settlements that went on to become Greek *poleis*. These natives of the emerging *poleis*-communities of southern Italy may have believed that they had a justified claim on native lands. In the view of native groups that did not participate in the formation of the *poleis*, however, these natives belonged to the 'other' social group, that of the emerging *polis*. Since the rapidly growing Greek-like towns needed agricultural lands to sustain themselves, they indeed became territorial states after the Greek fashion in the 6th century BC. It is plausible to assume that the rapidly growing settlements were thought to have hewn their *chora* out of the territories of native polities. Therefore, violent clashes between the inhabitants of the new *polis* – whatever their roots were – and the native groups on whose fringes they lived, were absolutely inevitable.

There is reliable proof of this type of unpleasantness in a variety of ancient written sources on the 6th and early 5th centuries BC (e.g., Nenci 1976). This was a situation of strongly opposed interests and of both Greek and native state formation processes resulting in the Greek city states on the coast and the complex tribal entities which the Greeks indicates as Messapians, Peucetians and Lucanians (cf. Yntema 1997). As a result, different and clearly opposed ethnic identities were constructed and stressed by ever more strongly conflicting groups. The strange hotch-potch of individuals and groups that must have peopled the emerging coastal settlements of Siris, Metapontion and Taras, stressed its unity and its 'otherness' towards neighbouring native groups by adopting utterly Greek origins and connecting itself to the mythical past of Aegean Greece. In the case of Metapontion, for example, the former Corinthian adventurer, the farming family from Achaia, the Ionic mercenary and his Enotrian wife, the bastard son of a Chaonic chief and his native band of followers began to view themselves as Metapontines with a solid Metapontine past. Metapontium, moreover, was a Greek town and belonged to a world called 'Hellas' which also encompassed the Aegean-Greek districts.

Thus the 'historical' foundation story of a Greek *apoikia*, being basically an *origo* myth, supplied the inhabitants of the 'colonial Greek' settlement with their origins, regardless of their actual roots. It gave them, moreover, their 'rightful' place in the Greek world. It provided them with links between their new Greek reality/community 'abroad' (the new world of 'us') in an originally non-Greek world (the world of the 'others') and the region that was believed to be the original Greek core area, Aegean Greece (the old familiar world of 'us'). While the initial phase of the settlement may show a mixed population and a mixed material culture in the archaeological record (e.g., Greek artefacts from various Aegean Greek centres, locally made artefacts inspired by them, 'native' elements), the foundation story – created or re-shaped at a much later moment in time – forged an identity shared by all members of the local society concerned. It set them apart from nearby competing native groups and associated them with, or dissociated them from, other Greek groups (e.g., the towns of Croton, Sybaris and Metapontion with presumed Achaean roots against 'Ionian' Siris). The fact that the graves of 6th century Tarantines have yielded an unusually large quantity of Laconian pottery may well be related to the Spartan roots the foundation story gave them. Whether these roots were real or perceived is absolutely irrelevant. Accordingly, the very substantial quantities of Laconian fine wares at 6th century Taras can possibly be viewed as material culture serving to stress an ethnic construct. The foundation story linked the community-away-from-home with one (and, on rare occasions, two) settlements in Aegean Greece (the *metropolis*). The *origo* myth, together with the creation of a close and official link with a settlement in Aegean Greece, made the new community part of a highly respected past. It also associated it with the traditions of the core area of the Greeks. Malkin (1998) has shown that the *Odyssey* and other *nostoi* also played an important role in the mental link between the new Greek world in Italy and the old world of Aegean Greece. They linked the Greeks in Italy to the Greek myths which – seen through Greek eyes – represented the distant, heroic past of the Greeks. The 'mythical' foundation stories concerning the activities of Greeks and Dardanians in the aftermath of the Trojan war stressed that link. These same myths also served to mediate contacts with local native populations. They may even have served as a tool in order to stress the 'legitimacy' of the territorial claims of the emerging, Greek-like communities of southern Italy in the late 7th century and 6th century BC. The foundation story of the *apoikia* is yet another link in the chain that ties a new Greek world

in Italy to the world of Aegean Greece. In reality, however, it represents a much more recent phase in history than that perceived by the Greeks themselves. The relatively recent situation (6th, 5th or 4th century BC) is projected back onto a distant and misty past (8th or 7th century BC).

In the same way, there were religious links between both the old and the new Greek worlds. These were embodied not only by the shared pantheon of the Greeks in general, but also by specific cults common to the *metropolis* in Aegean Greece and the new Greek *polis* in Italy (e.g. the cult of Apollo Hyacinthios in both Sparta and Taras). The foundation stories of the *apoikia*, therefore, were one of the elements that played a crucial role in forging the identity of new settlements in the new Greek world. Before that time, the amalgam of various groups of allochthonous Greeks and various groups of autochthonous natives that populated the settlements lacked any venerated traditions or impressive 'mythical' history. In the course of time, this partly or entirely invented past could be re-shaped and re-interpreted as a result of the emergence of new local ideologies and new mental ties.

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Homeric and Mycenaean long-distance contacts: discrepancies in the evidence

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Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* provide a battleground for a number of on-going debates, one of which concerns the chronological background to the poems. Today, the majority of scholars agree that the Homeric epics are examples of oral poetry, likely to have been composed late in the 8th or early in the 7th century BC.¹ There is much less unanimity, however, about the question which period or periods the poems may reflect. One dominant school of thought with a long tradition claims that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* contain many reminiscences of the Mycenaean period.² This notion was fostered by a number of important discoveries. Most influential, of course, were Heinrich Schliemann's excavations from 1870 onwards in a number of places figuring in the epics, such as Troy, Mycenae and Tiryns. These proved that a pre-Classical 'golden age' had existed, and it was thought that it constituted a proper setting for the age of Homer's heroes. Secondly, the publication of Milman Parry's thesis in 1928 showing that the Homeric epics stood at the end of a centuries-long, orally transmitted tradition³ made it possible that, at least in theory, the epics perpetuated memories of a distant, Mycenaean past. Moreover, with the decipherment of Linear B in 1952 by Michael Ventris and John Chadwick it could be demonstrated that certain interconnections existed between the Mycenaean dialect of the tablets and the archaic language used in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In addition, for a long time archaeologists felt confident that the Early Iron Age – i.e. the period between the Mycenaean era and Homer's own time – was too obscure to constitute a setting appropriate to a heroic age.

In more recent years, new insights into the dynamics of orally composed poetry⁴ and new archaeological discoveries that have enlightened the alleged obscurity of the Early Iron Age have seriously challenged this view.⁵ There even seems to be a growing consensus among historians and archaeologists that the epics mainly contain elements from the period of their composition, i.e. the decades around 700 BC.⁶ At the same time, a number of scholars remain convinced that there is a Mycenaean background to the epics, as is illustrated by some recent publications dealing with Late Bronze Age maritime trade. What especially fosters this belief is the discovery of two rich ships at Uluburun and Cape Gelidonya (Taşlık

Burun) on the Turkish south coast, which had gone down – probably on their way to the Aegean – in the late 14th and late 12th century BC, respectively.⁷ In this paper, I will discuss alleged links between Homeric and Bronze Age trade. I will start, however, with a critical review of some Mycenaean elements found in the Homeric epics. I will then compare a number of salient features of the political and economic organization in the Mycenaean era and in the Homeric world.⁸

HOMER AND THE MYCENAEAN PALACE SOCIETY

There is no denying that certain elements known from Homer's world of heroes also occur in the Linear B documents.⁹ For example, there are quite a few personal names listed on the tablets – among them, equivalents of Akhilleus, Hektor, Priamos and Alexandros – which can be equated with those of Akhaians and Trojans in the epics.¹⁰ These names were hardly used by the Greeks of the historical period which gives them a decisively Mycenaean ring. Also of interest in this context is a Linear B tablet from Knossos which mentions the locality

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¹ Janko 1982, 195–200, 228–31; Kirk 1985, 3–16. Cf. Havelock 1982, 166, 179–81 (between 700 and 550 BC); West 1995, 203–19 (between 660 and 650 BC).

² See refs. in Sherratt 1990, 808.

³ Parry 1928.

⁴ I. Morris 1986; Raaflaub 1998, 177–82.

⁵ See Crielaard 1995, 204, with refs.

⁶ Van Wees 1997, 692 n. 29.

⁷ For recent accounts, see Bass 1997; Pulak 1997.

⁸ The use of such terms as 'the Homeric world' or 'the world of the epics' is justified by the internal consistency of a variety of realities occurring in the epics, such as the organization of the household, community and 'state', and ideals regarding personal power, status and status rivalry; for this, see especially Finley 1979; Van Wees 1992.

⁹ For an up-to-date account of what information Linear B documents contain about socio-political, religious and other matters, see Driessen 1992, 16–31 (with further refs.).

¹⁰ Some scholars believe that the Hittite textual sources also contain such names as Alexandros (Alaksandu), Priamos (Pariya-muwa) and Atreus (Attarsiya); see Bryce 1998, 394–5, 402.

Akhaiwija, and thus seems to echo the term 'Akhaiaans' which Homer uses as a synonym for Greeks. References to *Ahhijawa* and *Aqaj(ja)wasa* in Hittite and Egyptian texts offer another possible connection. In addition to this, there are certain objects referred to in the epics which evoke artifacts that archaeology has shown to belong to the Mycenaean period. Best known are the great body-shields used by Aias and Hektor (*Il.* VI. 117-8; XI. 485, 527; XV. 645-6), Meriones' boar's tusk plated helmet (X. 261ff.) and Nestor's dove cup (XI. 632-5).¹¹ On a more general level, it has been suggested that some recurrent themes in Minoan or Mycenaean art can be considered visual counterparts of oral poems which must have had subjects similar to that of the Trojan War. Mentioned as examples of such representations are the miniature frieze in the West House in Santorini and the silver 'Siege Rythos' from Mycenae, both of which show warriors attacking a city and scenes which are thought to be comparable to the *teichoskopia* in the third book of the *Iliad* (160-244).¹²

There are also instances of epics and archaeology coming so close to one another that it is almost too good to be true. A classic example is a passage in the *Odyssey* (III. 464-5) which tells how Odysseus' son Telemakhos, while visiting King Nestor at Pylos, is bathed by Nestor's daughter Polykaste. A bath tub was discovered during excavations of the Mycenaean palace at Epáno Englianos near Pylos, which strengthened the conviction of Carl Blegen, the excavator, that this was the 'Palace of Nestor'.¹³ However, this match between epics and archaeology is exceptional and probably merely fortuitous – the more so considering that there are hardly any other links between the dwellings of the Homeric heroes and Mycenaean palatial structures. For example, the poet fails to mention the ceremonial central hearth, frescoes, palace workshops or scribes keeping elaborate accounts on tablets.¹⁴ When in the second book of the *Odyssey* (337ff.) Telemakhos is described as going to the basement storerooms of Odysseus' palace, there are no endless rows of pithoi known from Bronze Age palaces, but instead jars holding oil and wine for personal consumption only. Also the palace's upstairs storerooms (*Od.* XXI. 5ff.) contain only the bits and pieces which form Odysseus' possessions. Even more out of place in a Mycenaean palace seem to be the animals waiting to be slaughtered and the dung heap found in the courtyard of Priamos' and Odysseus' residences (*Il.* XXIV. 161-5, 640; *Od.* XVII. 297-8).

The limited degree to which the Homeric world and the Mycenaean palace society are related becomes especially clear when we move from individual aspects of material culture to a comparison of more

salient religious, political and socio-economic institutions. For instance, such deities as Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Hermes, Athena and Artemis figure both on the tablets and in Homer. However, the names of other gods and goddesses (e.g. Apollo, Aphrodite and Demeter) occur in the epics, but are unknown from Linear B documents.¹⁵ Such discrepancies clearly illustrate the point Alfred Heubeck made some time ago, i.e. that it is the *differences* not the similarities between the Linear B documents and Homer that are most conspicuous.¹⁶ This point becomes especially clear when we consider the political structure of the Mycenaean palace-system as reconstructed from the tablets. These provide evidence of a complex hierarchy of palace officials and regional administrators, with at its apex the *wa-na-ka*. Subordinate to him were government officers at a number of administrative levels, to which we should add other members of the aristocracy, priests and – lower in the hierarchy – the *da-mo* ('the people') and, finally, slaves and *po-ku-ta*, who were probably landless labourers. Careful study of the Linear B texts from Pylos show that the territory of the Pylian kingdom was probably administered as two provinces and no fewer than 17 sub-provinces.¹⁷ In Homer, the word *wanax* (which is related to *wa-na-ka* in Mycenaean) is known, but is not the usual term for 'king'. Homeric kings are generally called *basileis*, a term probably related to *qa-si-re-u* in Linear B, where it designates a local or regional functionary, subordinate to the *wa-na-ka*. The idea is generally accepted that with the collapse of the Mycenaean palace system the *wanax* disappeared, after which the local *basileis* remained masters over their respective territories.¹⁸ In contrast to the Mycenaean palace system's characteristic hierarchy of six or seven status levels, the socio-political structure of the Homeric community is much simpler. The ruling *basileus*, assisted by a council of pre-eminent *basileis* representing aristocratic families, govern the people (*demos*). Still lower on the social

¹¹ For other examples (and illustrations), see Crielaard 1994, 130-1.

¹² S. Morris 1989; Hiller 1990; also Yalouris 1989.

¹³ Blegen & Rawson 1966, 188. This conviction dies hard, see e.g. Wöhrle 1996, 158.

¹⁴ Note that bath tubs are not limited to the Late Bronze Age, but also occur in the 8th and 7th c., e.g. at Miletus (*Milet I.8*, 30 fig. 22) and Oropos (*Praktika* 1996, 31, pl. 11a).

¹⁵ Paieon or *Pa-ja-wo* in Linear B probably cannot be equated with Apollo, since in Homer (*Il.* V. 899-900; *Od.* IV.232) Paieon is a different god than Apollo.

¹⁶ Heubeck 1984, 7. See further Finley 1957.

¹⁷ Note that Small (1998, 286-8) argues that this reconstruction of Pylos' internal political division and the exchange systems associated with it is improbable, because only a limited degree of regional site hierarchy existed.

¹⁸ See e.g. Carlier 1995.

scale are slaves (*dmoes* and *dmoai*) and landless labourers (*thetes*).¹⁹ Also in an economic sense, the *oikos* (household) of the Homeric *basileus* is much less complex. In comparison to the Mycenaean palace and its centralized, redistributive economy, the ideal of every *oikos* is self-sufficiency and, although sometimes the *basileus* collects 'gifts' from the people (e.g. *Il.* IX. 155-297; *Od.* XIII. 14-5; XIX. 197), taxes are unknown.

The fifty female slaves who are occupied with the production of textiles at Odysseus' palace (*Od.* XXII. 421-3) are in sharp contrast to the more than one thousand female labourers who, according to the tablets, are employed by the palace of Pylos. Odysseus – who is reputed to be exceptionally rich – owns several flocks of pigs, goats, sheep and cattle; together these numbered in hundreds or possibly thousands of animals.²⁰ Despite the fact that epic poetry tends to exaggerate the scale of things, Odysseus' flocks are still considerably smaller than the flock of 100,000 sheep the palace of Knossos had at its disposal. All this makes it clear that, despite the tendency towards exaggeration to which epic poetry is prone, the poet had no clue of the socio-economic conditions prevalent in the Mycenaean era.

It is evident, then, that a number of linguistic elements and particular artifacts go back to the Late Bronze Age, and some perhaps even to an early stage of the Late Bronze Age.²¹ On the whole, however, the general picture presented by the Homeric epics is hard to reconcile with that of the Minoan or Mycenaean civilizations. The complex socio-political and economic organization of the Bronze Age palace system is far removed from the relatively simple conditions prevailing in the poems.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HOMERIC AND LATE BRONZE AGE LONG-DISTANCE COMMUNICATIONS

Let us now consider what exactly incites students of Late Bronze Age exchanges to draw parallels with the epics. To start with, there are the artifacts imported from places far away, such as those discovered in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae. These represent a certain splendour which is considered to suit the heroic world of the Homeric epics. Moreover, these objects are (probably rightly) associated with prestigious gift-giving between high-status individuals.²² Although this type of exchange is omnipresent in the epics, it does not necessarily mean, as Eric Cline claims, that Homeric gift exchanges are a 'reflection of Late Bronze Age practices within the Aegean itself'.²³ Apart from that, there are objects found in contexts directly associated with long-distance trade which are thought to be comparable to

artifacts mentioned in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. One example is the boxwood writing tablet excavated from the Uluburun wreck (*Fig. 1a*). It is sometimes paralleled to the *pinax ptyktos*, which contains 'baneful signs' that Bellerophon carries to Lycia (*Il.* VI. 169). Lycia is also – as George Bass, one of the wreck's excavators, reminds us – 'where the Uluburun ship met her end'.²⁴ Another instance is the wickerwork fence of the same ship that is paralleled to a similar construction Odysseus uses for his raft to keep the water out.²⁵ To Bass, the writing-board, wickerwork fence and other finds from the east Mediterranean vessels that sunk at Uluburun and Cape Gelidonya furnish proof that the Phoenicians in the Homeric epics are Bronze Age people. In his view, this also means that Homer's knowledge of Phoenician seafaring and metalworking cannot be used as an argument to locate the Homeric world in the Iron Age.²⁶ Other scholars, such as John Luce in a recent article, see reflections of Bronze Age trade in the maritime routes described in the epics.²⁷ It is questionable, however, whether a random selection of individual objects can be used to argue for whatever date for the historical and cultural background of the epics. To be brief, it is exactly this kind of comparison that Moses Finley was criticizing when he said that 'the weakness of archaeological argument in this particular context is that too many of the objects had a continuous existence (as types)'.²⁸ In the case of writing boards, this point is illustrated by the 8th- to 6th-century tablets from Nimrud, Marsiliana d'Albegna and the Giglio wreck (*Figs. 1 b-d*).²⁹ Luce's maritime routes, I may add, are hardly different in this respect, since they are in a way timeless, as they are to a large extent deter-

¹⁹ Van Wees 1992, 31ff. Also Hesiod's society is characterized by three or four levels of status, including *basileis* (*W&D* 39, 221, 250, 264), relatively well-off farmers such as Hesiod himself (see e.g. 405ff.), and free and unfree dependents (e.g. 405-6, 470, 502, 597-603).

²⁰ See *Od.* XIV. 96-104; for the size of one flock, cf. *Il.* XI. 696-7; *Od.* XII. 127-30; XIV. 13-20.

²¹ See Vermeule 1986; Ruijgh 1995. See Bryce 1998, Ch. 14, on the question whether the tradition of the Trojan War had a possible historical kernel in a conflict or series of conflicts between Mycenaean Greeks and a northwest Anatolian kingdom towards the end of the Late Bronze Age. Raaflaub 1997 is very sceptical whether epic could preserve memories of such events.

²² Cf. Knapp 1998, esp. 202-4.

²³ Cline 1995, 148.

²⁴ Bass 1997, 90-1; see also Luce 1998, 57.

²⁵ *Od.* V. 256-7, with Bass 1997, 88. Illustration: Pulak 1999, 235 fig. 3.

²⁶ Bass 1997, esp. 84, 90-3.

²⁷ Luce 1998; see also Bass 1997, 92-3.

²⁸ Finley 1979, 157.

²⁹ Uluburun: Payton 1991; Symington 1991; Giglio wreck (ca. 590-80 BC): Cristofani 1992-93, 219 (all three with refs. to writing-boards from Assyria and Marsiliana d'Albegna).

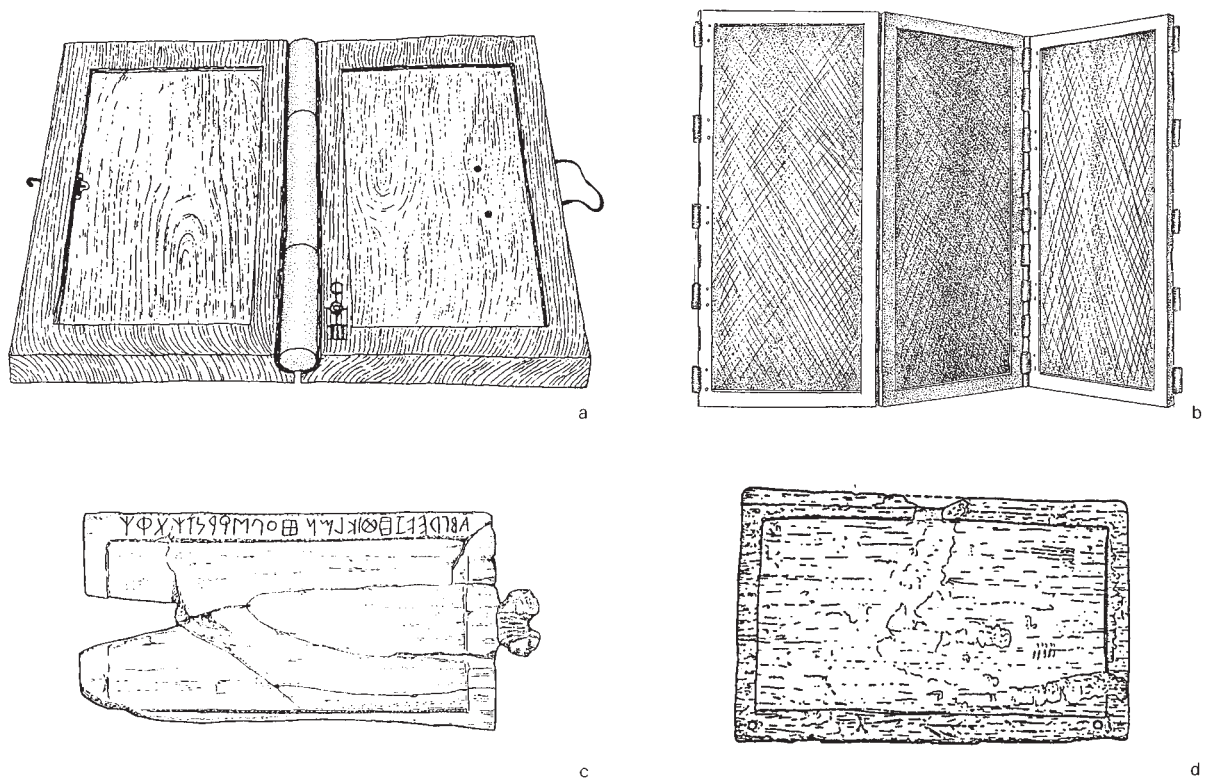


Fig. 1. Writing-boards from a. Uluburun (wood, late 14th c.), b. Nimrud (ivory, 8th c.), c. Marsiliana d'Albegna (ivory, early 7th c.) and d. Giglio wreck (wood, early 6th c.).
From: Payton 1991, 105 fig. 4 (a); Howard, M., Iraq 17, 1955, 17 fig. 9-10 (b); Macnamara, E., *Everyday Life of the Etruscans*, London & New York, 1973, fig. 109 (c); Cristofani 1992-93, 220 fig. 10 (d).

mined by prevailing sea currents and wind patterns.³⁰ One should not so much take into consideration – as Finley recommended – individual elements of the material setting of the poems, nor single words, phrases or passages, but rather concentrate on broader patterns, for instance in behaviour, values, social institutions and attitudes.³¹ In what follows, I will give some outlines not only of patterns in overseas exchanges as can be reconstructed on the basis of archaeological and textual sources for the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean, but also of the socio-political conditions that allowed these exchanges. I will focus on the later part of the Late Bronze Age, i.e. the 14th and 13th centuries BC. As a second step, I will make comparisons with information from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* about the organization of overseas exchanges in the Homeric world.

First, however, some remarks must be made about the share that Mycenaean Greeks had in the long-distance exchange networks in the eastern Mediterranean. There is some epigraphic and other textual evidence indicating that New Kingdom Egypt as well as the

Hittite New Kingdom had dealings with Mycenaean Greece.³² If identified correctly, we even have a textual reference from Ugarit from the second half of the 13th century which relates to a certain Sinaranu – a rich and influential local merchant – who is expecting a ship to arrive from Crete.³³ Evidence of eastern ships travelling to the west is also provided by the Uluburun and Cape Gelidonya wrecks. These were Levantine or, less likely, Cypriot vessels, as is suggested by the goods on board of the ships, the origin of the majority of the utilitarian objects, raw materials and possible diplomatic gifts, as well as

³⁰ For these, see Mantzourani & Theodorou 1989; also Murray 1987. In a way, this also applies to ports of call on these routes, as is illustrated e.g. by Kommos and Amnisos in Crete; both sites were important during the LBA (the period on which Luce [1998, 60-2] focuses) and again during the EIA.

³¹ Finley 1979, 148ff.; see also Van Wees 1992, 15-6.

³² For recent contributions to the discussion about the identification of Ahhijawa and Ahhijawa's relationships with the Hittite kingdom, see Bryce 1998, 59-63, 339-44; Hawkins 1998; Mountjoy 1998, 47-51; Niemeier 1998.

³³ Heltzer 1988.

the collections of weights and the weight standard they represent.³⁴ In contrast, comparable direct testimony of Mycenaean ships visiting the Near East is lacking. The Linear B documents are characterized by an extreme paucity of references to shipping activities or extra-regional trade, whether by sea or land. One explanation is that private entrepreneurs independent of the palace conducted overseas trade. On the other hand, the Linear B documents provide enough evidence to conclude that the central palace administrations at Mycenae, Knossos and Pylos had organized systems for building, maintaining and manning sizeable fleets, at least for military purposes. Besides, there are references to regional overseas exchanges within the Aegean and possibly also with Cyprus.³⁵ In short, there are sufficient reasons to presume that the palaces commanded an infrastructure that in principle allowed long-distance intercommunications. Besides, it is difficult to imagine that a total Near Eastern monopoly of such exchanges would have existed.³⁶ Quite apart from all this, there remains the possibility that private entrepreneurial activities took place outside or on the fringes of 'international' palatial networks and did not leave traces in the documentary record.³⁷ Now back to our original point. In the previous sections we have seen that on a number of important points there are quantitative and qualitative differences between the Mycenaean and the epic world. Along these lines, I will now compare long-distance communications in the Late Bronze Age and in Homer by focussing on three significant aspects: scale, nature and setting.

A. DIFFERENCES IN SCALE

During the Late Bronze Age, exchanges in the eastern Mediterranean involved the transshipment of large quantities of raw metals and other materials. This is clear from Egyptian, Hittite and Ugaritic written documents,³⁸ Egyptian reliefs and wall paintings,³⁹ and finds from shipwrecks.⁴⁰ A most graphic illustration is the cargo of the Uluburun ship which included ten tons of copper in the shape of oxhide and bun ingots, nearly a ton of tin and one ton of terebinth resin. This matches well with some of the annual imports of bulk quantities of terebinth resin used as incense mentioned in Thutmose III's annals, while the same substance is perhaps also mentioned as *ki-ta-no* on the Knossian tablets (ca. 18.400 litres).⁴¹ Oxhide ingots in particular, which are found from the Near East to Sardinia in the west, represent a certain standardization of raw metals, typical of an environment in which intensive, large-scale overseas contacts took place.⁴² The near dis-

appearance of oxhide ingots during the succeeding Iron Age is indicative of the lack of such standardization and the relatively small scale of exchanges during that period.⁴³

In the Homeric epics, the great majority of transactions involve high-value, low-bulk manufactured goods – a topic to which we will return later. There are only two possible references to exchanges of bulk quantities of agricultural produce and raw metals. One can be found in the *Iliad* (VII. 467-75), when Euneos, king of Lemnos, sends a consignment of a thousand measures of wine to the leaders of the Akhaian army before Troy. The other relates to a passage in the *Odyssey* (I. 184) in which Athena disguises herself as Mentès, leader of the Taphians. She/he has put in at Ithaka on a voyage to Temesa in

³⁴ On the basis of specific Aegean objects, Pulak (1997, 253) assumes that Mycenaeans were travelling aboard the Uluburun ship.

³⁵ Palaima 1991; more recently, Shelmerdine 1998; Olivier 1996-1997.

³⁶ Liverani 1987, 67-8.

³⁷ A point of debate, for instance, is to what extent the production of Mycenaean pottery (the largest category of overseas exports known) was controlled by the palaces. For recent contributions, see Gillis 1995; Haskell 1997; Schallin 1997; Galaty 1998. Sherratt 1999 and Van Wijngaarden 1999 discuss the backgrounds of pottery exports overseas.

³⁸ See e.g. Liverani 1990 (general); Wachsmann 1998, 296 (specific nautical matters). Apart from metals, also grain was exchanged, see e.g. Breasted 1927, 244 par. 580.

³⁹ See e.g. Rehak 1998. Also Schofield & Parkinson 1995 (depiction of ?Mycenaean on Amarna Papyrus). Further Niemeier 1998, 42 (?Mycenaean warrior on clay bowl from Hattusa).

⁴⁰ Apart from the Cape Gelidonya and Uluburun wrecks, bronze ingots indicating lost cargoes have been found or reported in coastal waters off Kyme (Euboia), Knidos, Deveboynu Burnu (Cape Krio) and Side, in the Bay of Alanya and off Hishuley Carmel and Hahoterim (Israel); Bass 1997, 92; Pulak 1997, 239; Wachsmann 1998, 205-11 (also Parker 1992, 181: Formentera?). Other BA wrecks in the Mediterranean have been found near Kefar Shamir, Israel (tin and lead; Parker 1992, 225) and Point Iria (cargo of LC IIC and LM/H IIIB2 pottery; see various contributions in Phelps, Lolos & Vichos 1999).

⁴¹ Pulak 1997, 235-41; also Palaima 1991, 279. In the Aegean, terebinth resin was perhaps used as an astringent in aromatic oils (but cf. Wachsmann 1998, 308-10: for embalming).

⁴² The find of a stone mould for oxhide ingots in the North Palace at Ras Ibn Hani (which maintained close associations with the royal court of Ugarit) exemplifies the palatial setting in which such production took place; see J. & E. Lagarce - A. Bounni & N. Saliby, *Ras Ibn Hani. Archéologie et Histoire*, Damas, 1987, 4 (with Fig. 8).

⁴³ For an example of the use of oxhide ingots in the Levant in the mid-9th century BC, see Crielaard 1998, 196. Cf. e.g. the bronze disk- and wheel-shaped ingots (7th-6th c.) from the Samian Heraion that are on display in the museum at Vathy (e.g. B102, B1090, B1099, B1510 [A580]). For the disk-shaped ingots from the Giglio wreck, see Cristofani 1992-93, 216-7. See also Hdt. IV.152: Kolaios from Samos taking back from Tartessos 60 talents of silver (some 1,500 to 2,000 kg.).

search of bronze, carrying iron in exchange. Temesa may be identified as Tamassos in inland Cyprus or, more likely, Temesa in southern Italy.⁴⁴ However, we should not think too much of the quantities of metals exchanged. In the *Iliad* (XXIII. 826-35), a piece of raw iron is mentioned which is a throwing-weight and simultaneously the winning prize in the weight-throwing contest as part of Patroklos' funeral games. No doubt this throwing-weight is a huge lump of iron; after all we are dealing with heroes of extraordinary strength (cf. *Il.* XII. 445-9). Yet, Akhilleus mentions that it is a sufficient household supply for a period of five years (833).⁴⁵ This tells us something about the scale of metal consumption and, by implication, the scale of metal exchanges in the Homeric world.

Something may be said about the ships used for overseas exchanges. The Uluburun vessel probably measured 15-17 metres in length and had a total capacity of at least 20 tons; the Gelidonya ship was presumably a little smaller. The hulls were of pegged mortise-and-tenon joinery.⁴⁶ It is not clear whether these were strictly sailing vessels or oar-propelled merchant galleys. In addition to merchantmen, we may presume that warships were employed to protect the maritime interests of the various eastern Mediterranean polities, but both textual and iconographic evidence are fairly unspecific about this.⁴⁷ In Homer, oared galleys are used for long-distance communications, including the shipment of personnel and goods (see e.g. *Il.* II. 719-20; XVI. 169-70; *Od.* II. 349-55, 417; IX. 99-100, 469-70; XII. 411-4; XIII. 19-22, 73-4; XV. 206-7, 283-6). These are probably planked vessels with a laced construction, presumably 20-30 metres long, with almost canoe-like proportions. Contemporary representational evidence suggests that these longships were rowed from one or two levels and were at best partially decked, which seriously reduced their carrying capacity.⁴⁸ A cargo-carrying ship is mentioned in Homer only two or three times, once probably in connection with long-distance sailing.⁴⁹ It could be that specialized trading vessels are excluded from the aristocratic world of the epics for ideological reasons. On the other hand, also in the representational evidence purpose-built, sail-driven roundships are extremely rare down to the end of the 6th century. The impression that seaborne bulk transport on specialized freighters increases in importance only during the 6th century seems to be corroborated by the number of shipwrecks.⁵⁰ Also in line with this general picture is information from literary sources which tells us that until the early 5th century, pentekonteres (multipurpose galleys which could cover long distances but had limited carrying capacity) were used for a combination of long-distance trade, coloniza-

tion and piracy.⁵¹

In sum, in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean, the process of producing, collecting, storing, transporting and distributing goods was carried out on a grand scale, which stands in sharp contrast to what is known in this respect about the Homeric world. The same applies, I should add, to consumption: in the epics, we do not find institutions, such as palaces or temple organizations, which would be capable of consuming the quantities of bronze or terebinth resin the Uluburun ship was transporting.

B. DIFFERENCES IN NATURE

The enormous quantities of metals and terebinth resin transported by the Uluburun ship were probably a royal consignment, comparable to what we know from Egyptian and Mycenaean palace records.⁵² In addition to this, among the ship's cargo was a variety of valuable manufactured goods which,

⁴⁴ Crielaard 1995, 233.

⁴⁵ Mention is made (826) of a *solon autochoonon* (a 'lump of self-moulded metal'), probably a mass of iron as it comes from the melting furnace, see Richardson 1993 (*ad loc.*).

⁴⁶ Pulak 1999; Bass 1999; also Wachsmann 1998, 216-7.

⁴⁷ See e.g. the Dramesi rock carvings (presumably 13th-century BC): there is discussion whether one of them represents a 'round' merchant ship; cf. Basch 1987, 143-4, with Wachsmann 1998, 145. By implication, similar doubts can be raised about the identification of the LM ship graffito from Mallia, Crete; see Van de Moortel 1994.

⁴⁸ Construction: Mark 1991. Length: Wallinga 1993, 40, 48-52. Height: *Il.* XV. 716-7. Representational evidence: Basch 1987, 159-201 (8th c.), 202-64 (7th-6th c.), see esp. pp. 243-6: wooden ship models from the Heraion on Samos (7th-6th c.).

⁴⁹ *Od.* IX. 322-3: cargo-carrying broad black ship of twenty oars which crosses the open sea; further V. 249-50: broad bottom of a 'cargo-carrying ship'; VIII. 161-4: overseer of traffickers in a 'many-locked vessel'. The *phortis eureia* ('broad freighter') mentioned in *Od.* IX. 323 and V. 249 could also be a twenty-oared vessel (*eeikosoros*; cf. *Od.* IX. 321-2), while the *nei polykleidi* of *Od.* VIII. 161 most naturally refers to a rowed warship; as Heubeck, West & Hainsworth 1988 (*ad loc.*) remark, there is no formulaic diction specifically for merchantmen. See also Humphreys 1977, esp. 351; Wallinga 1993, 3, 33 n. 1, 42-3. Cf. Hes., *W&D* 631-2, 643-5: small ships vs. cargo-carrying, profit-making bigger ships; 689-94: only moderate amounts of cargo.

⁵⁰ See Parker 1992, 10 ('Wreck Index'): ca. 1500 - ca. 1200 BC: 8 wrecks; ca. 650: 1; ca. 600 - 500: 23 (NB: Huelva hoard [no. 508] is a ritual deposit). More recent finds include the above Point Iria wreck (ca. 1200) and wrecks at Mazarrón, Spain (7th c.) and Marseilles (late 6th c.; refs. in Pulak 1999, 214). More strongly-built freighters carrying bulky cargoes have a greater likelihood of leaving traces in the underwater archaeological record than lighter, oared vessels fitted out for sea fighting.

⁵¹ E.g. Hdt. I. 152. 4, 163. 2, 166; IV. 153, 156; also Thuc. I. 14, with Basch 1987, 197-8. Capacity: 25 to 50 m², see Thuc. IV. 118. 5, with Wallinga 1993, 25 n. 33, 52.

⁵² E.g., according to the Amarna letters (EA 33, 34), large quantities of copper were sent by the king of Alashiya to the Egyptian pharaoh; see also Pulak 1997, 251.

with the help of such written evidence as the Amarna letters, can be identified as high-level diplomatic gifts. We may single out here the faience ram-headed cups from North Syria, the Egyptian duck-shape cosmetic boxes of ivory and the trumpet of hippopotamus ivory.⁵³ A third category of goods comprises merchandise, for example, the pithoi which contain freshly produced Cypriot pottery. We may assume that this third category consisted of commodities belonging to private traders who were also on board the ship. I want to point out that in this respect, the cargo of the Uluburun ship illustrates very well what scholars working with textual evidence⁵⁴ have already suggested, i.e. that various forms of exchange, such as diplomatic gift-giving, ceremonial exchange of bulk goods (also known as administered or treaty trade) and private commercial ventures, to some degree overlapped, or at least took place in combination.

It is likely that the Uluburun ship represents an example of what is called directional trade. By this I mean the movement of goods with specific knowledge of the destination and purchaser, including an estimation of the latter's ability to reciprocate. No doubt the transport and exchange of goods in bulk meant high risks, which were minimized by various kinds of regulations between consignor and consignee. These included the exchange and protection of representatives or envoys, and written agreements between palace officials which established – before shipment – the price of certain goods and/or the objects to be rendered in return. During the Late Bronze Age, long-distance directional trade took place between gateway communities that were able to tap raw or semi-worked bulk goods (e.g. agricultural produce and metals) from their hinterland, as well as imported, high-value manufactured goods that were partly manufactured on the spot and partly obtained via exchanges with other major centres.⁵⁵ This explains how it is possible that no less than nine or ten cultures are represented by the artifacts from the Uluburun wreck.⁵⁶ It is inconceivable that the Uluburun ship picked up this variety of goods along its route, especially since a number of them originate from landlocked regions. There can be no doubt that these very diverse objects had come together in certain central places or had been collected by specific individuals for shipment overseas. Eventually, directional trade also included the exchange of more mundane goods, as is illustrated by Late Helladic/Minoan IIIB pottery with Cypriot marks from the Aegean which shows that persons with knowledge of the Cypriot marking system were involved in the shipment of these products to Cyprus.⁵⁷

In the epics, one of the most important forms of

exchange is gift-giving. Apart from horses and slaves, this normally involves moveable goods of a relatively small size but generally of high value. Important categories of objects include various kinds of metal vessels, textiles, and arms and armour.⁵⁸ Their value is determined partly by the costliness of the materials they are made of, partly by the craftsmanship involved and partly by the biography of the objects.⁵⁹ Significant for an object's biography can be its previous owners, donors, the occasion on which it had been obtained and, sometimes, the 'author' of the object.⁶⁰ But also Euneos' consignment of wine mentioned earlier is designated as a 'gift' to Agamemnon and Menelaos. No reference is made to prices or value, but the rest of the Akhaian leaders show their largesse by reciprocating with a variety of counter-gifts, which makes it clear that the transaction cannot be interpreted as a disguised version of barter. Barter or other exchanges of an impersonal, commercial character are often carried out by relative outsiders, such as Phoenicians.⁶¹ Anything coming close to directional trade is absent from the epics. Mentos' intention to sail to Temesa with the specific aim of exchanging goods is exceptional. Quite often Homeric heroes (but also Phoenician traders) travel at random. They pay surprise visits to colleagues overseas, who give them gifts upon their departure.⁶² They frequently claim that they had simply been blown off course and found themselves in places where they could make profitable deals.⁶³ The latter element is a sort of *topos* in the Homeric epics, which reoccurs in

⁵³ Pulak 1997, esp. 240-6, also 251, 256. Other possible royal gifts may be the elephant tusks, ebony logs, gold jewellery, valuable statuettes, weapons and glass ingots. Almost certainly belonging to this class of objects is a ceremonial bronze axe from the northern Balkans.

⁵⁴ For the Near East, see e.g. Zaccagnini 1987.

⁵⁵ E.g. Knapp 1997 (who uses the term 'primary maritime centres', see 156-9); Pulak 1997, 251.

⁵⁶ See Pulak 1997, 256.

⁵⁷ Hirschfeld 1996; see also Haskell 1999; Phelps, Lolos & Vichos 1999, 46, 49, 116-7.

⁵⁸ E.g. *Il.* XI. 15ff. (Cypriot shield and armour); *Od.* IV. 617-9=XV. 116-8 (Phoenician silver krater); VIII. 393 (well-washed robe and tunic); XXI. 11-6, 31-5 (weapons). See further Finley 1979, 64-6, 95-8, 120-3; Van Wees 1992, 47-8, 228-34.

⁵⁹ These three elements come together e.g. in *Od.* VIII. 401-15.

⁶⁰ Objects' biographies are sometimes rather shallow or are just about to accumulate biographical information (see e.g. *Il.* XXIII. 799-800, 826-35), but in other cases they possess a genealogy covering a number of generations, see e.g. *Il.* VII. 136-54 (mace); X. 261-71 (boar's tusk helmet); XXIII. 741-9 (silver krater).

⁶¹ *Il.* XXIII. 744-5; *Od.* XIII. 273; XIV. 288; XV. 415; outsiders are also the *demioergoi*, *Od.* XVII. 382-5.

⁶² E.g. *Od.* XV. 80-5.

⁶³ E.g. *Od.* III. 288-302, IV. 83-91; V. 383-7, XIII. 217-8; XIX. 186-99; XXIV. 304-14.



Fig. 2. a. LH III C krater fragment from Pyrgos Livanaton; b. SPG III pyxis from Toumba cemetery, Lefkandi. After: Dakoronia, F., Proceedings of the Third International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Athens, 1989 (*Tropis III*), Athens, 1995, 147 fig. 1 (a); Popham, M.R., *OxfJA* 6, 1987, 357 fig. 4 (b).

stories of trade and colonization relating to the Archaic period⁶⁴ and which may be connected to an idealized, aristocratic self-image of adventurous seafarers. Something similar no doubt relates to the importance of gift-giving in the epics, to the exclusion of, for instance, barter. On the other hand, whether *topoi* or not, such stories can be considered typical of the low level of organization of overseas exchanges in the epics. They also show that Homer's audience (like the Greeks of the Archaic period) wished to see overseas contacts as something of a haphazard affair. Here, there are no interstate treaties or administered trade through government-run channels with fixed prices. Trade is a matter of fortune,

good or bad, and is characterized by a high level of anarchy. Much of this anarchy is caused by what can be called predatory warfare, including piracy and sea and land raids on enemy communities and the redistribution of the resulting booty.⁶⁵ We can safely assume that in such an unstable milieu, large-scale commercial exchanges based on more or less fixed prices are virtually impossible. Predatory warfare and exchanges supposedly

⁶⁴ E.g. Hdt. II. 152 (Ionian and Carian marauders in Egypt); IV. 152 (Kolaïos' voyage to Tartessos).

⁶⁵ Piracy and raids: e.g. *Od.* IX. 39ff.; XIV. 246ff.=XVII. 425ff.; XV. 425-9; with Van Wees 1992, 207-17, 238-48.

became more prominent in the period around the fall of the Mycenaean and Near Eastern palaces.⁶⁶ Characteristic of the changing situation are the activities of the so-called Sea Peoples in various parts of the eastern Mediterranean from ca. 1250 to 1150 BC. A vivid illustration of the sorry state of 'international' affairs during the earlier part of the 11th century is provided by the account of Wen-Amon, who is sent on a foreign ship from Egypt to Byblos, where he arrives after having been given a hard time by the Tjekker of Dor. He summons King Zakar-Baal to donate timber for the barque of his god Amon-Re, 'as your father did, your grandfather did and you also will do'. Zakar-Baal, however, answers '... I am not your servant. Nor do I serve him who sent you' and wants to see a shipload of precious gifts as payment in advance (which Wen-Amon does not have). Later, he is again harassed by the Tjekker and nearly lynched by the people of Alashiya.⁶⁷ In the Homeric epics, piracy or freebooting has become a fact of life, considering that the standard question to foreigners goes '... are you on some business, or are you recklessly roving as pirates do ...?'.⁶⁸ Assyrian records of the 730s, finally, mention the Yamani – probably 'Ionians' or, more generally, Greeks – who carry out raids on the Phoenician coast.⁶⁹

A clear sign of the times is also the development of the oared galley, which can be traced back to this period. Especially from the LH IIIC period we have a striking number of ship representations which not only testify to a great interest in ships and seafaring, but also show signs of several important innovations in ship construction. These included the brailed rig, open rowers' galleries, raised platforms in the bow or aft (possibly the Homeric *ikria*) and more or less vertical stem posts (as opposed to a curving stern), often combined with a pronounced keel extending into a short spur (*Figs. 2 a-b*), which was probably to facilitate stem-first beaching at speed.⁷⁰ The sum of these individual elements was a new type of ship that could be used for speedy seaborne attacks on coastal settlements and, as is clear from the iconographic evidence, for naval engagements at sea (*Fig. 2a*),⁷¹ even before the offensive waterline ram was developed, presumably during the 9th century BC.⁷²

It is clear that long-distance overseas contacts were never altogether abandoned. On the basis of archaeological evidence, it can be argued that at the beginning of the Iron Age new, regionally concentrated elites emerged in the Aegean and various other parts of the Mediterranean, and that they exchanged goods and information via a series of interlocking regional networks.⁷³ These contacts, however, for a long time remained small scale and infrequent as a

result of the fragmented socio-political situation during this period and, we may assume, of the uncontrolled activities of pirates and marauders that such a situation engendered. Until a late stage of the Archaic period, piracy remained a threat to the seaborne exchange of goods and gifts, and continued to be considered an honourable activity that appealed especially to members of the elite of seafaring *poleis*.⁷⁴

C. DIFFERENCES IN SETTING

Ashlar-built harbour facilities may be singled out as only one aspect of the material setting in which Late Bronze Age trade in the eastern Mediterranean took place. Ashlar-built landing stages and quays are known from, for instance, Minet el Beida, the harbour of Ugarit, Tel Dor in Palestine and Thebes and Bisket Habu in Egypt. Also mentioned may be the stone-paved water wells providing ship crews with fresh water at such harbour sites as Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke and Kition in Cyprus, and at Tel Dor.⁷⁵ Best known in this respect is, of course, Kommos, the harbour town on the southern shore of Crete, which probably served the palatial centres of Phaistos (i.e. until LM I) and Aghia Triada. It was open to trade with both Egypt and the Levant and, somewhat later, with Italy and/or Sardinia. Excavations brought to light Neopalatial Building T, a court-centred complex with storerooms for merchandise in use during LM I. During the post-palatial (or, in E. Hallager's terminology, the Final Palatial) LM IIIA2-IIIB periods, two monumental structures were built on top of this: Building N – which possibly housed the administrative headquarters from which Kommos' port facilities were supervised – and a ship-storage facility for the winter months consisting of six great galleries known as Building P.⁷⁶ Comparable ship sheds can possibly be identified at Amnisos, Malia and Nirou Khani in

⁶⁶ Sherratt & Sherratt (1991, 373) speak of 'opportunistic trading in small vessels by intersitial and peripheral groups'. See further Artzy 1997.

⁶⁷ *The Report of Wen-Amon* II. 4-5, 14, 72ff.

⁶⁸ E.g. *Od.* III. 71-4; also *Hom. Hymn Apollo*, 452-5; cf. Thuc. I.5, with Van Wees 1992, 390 n. 93.

⁶⁹ Crielaard 1995, 230 with refs.

⁷⁰ Basch 1987, esp. 141ff.; Wachsmann 1998, 130ff., 155-7, 251-4; Wedde 1999.

⁷¹ Dakoronia 1999.

⁷² Cf. Van Doorninck 1982.

⁷³ Crielaard 1998.

⁷⁴ See e.g. *Hdt.* I. 70, 163, 166; III. 39, 58-9; VI. 17.

⁷⁵ Raban 1991.

⁷⁶ Shaw 1998; Rutter 1999.

Crete and also perhaps at Ialysos in Rhodes.⁷⁷ The construction and maintenance of this type of monumental harbour installation can be linked to the existence of powerful, well-organized regional or supra-regional entities, whether these were centrally governed empires, regional states or socio-political organizations of a smaller scale. Moreover, the use of ashlar architecture indicates the existence of intimate intercommunications between these various parts of the eastern Mediterranean, resulting in a related, 'international' architectural style. The use of ashlar can be considered to contain 'references' to palatial and other prestigious architecture, and therefore represent examples of what may be labelled as 'architecture of power'.⁷⁸ Compare this to the description of Scheria, home of the Phaiakians, in the *Odyssey* (VI. 262-5). Although of a fictitious nature, Scheria and its inhabitants seem to represent what is conceived of as the ideal (colonial) city. In the translation by Richmond Lattimore, the passage reads:

But when we come to the city, and around this is a towering wall, and a handsome harbor either side of the city, and a narrow causeway, and along the road there are oarswept ships drawn up, for they all have slips, one for each vessel.

Here there are no impressive harbour installations, but ships beached on the shore. The fact that each shipowner possesses his own slipway is mentioned as an example of the superb way in which the Phaiakians 'men of the long oar, famed for seafaring' (*Od.* VIII. 369) have organized their fleet.⁷⁹ This picture is in tune with a more general pattern in the world of the epics, where public buildings are scarce and individual or state authority is apparently insufficient for organizing such facilities. It was not until the Archaic period that harbour installations of some scale were again built in the Aegean, as is evidenced by for instance moles made of roughly-hewn stones at Eretria in Euboia and Klazomenai on the coast of Asia Minor. It is perhaps no coincidence that it was under the tyranny of Polykrates of Samos that a large fleet of a hundred pentekonters was built, along with wooden boat sheds (*Hdt.* III. 39, 45) and a breakwater over a quarter mile in length, which was, says Herodotos, one of 'the greatest building and engineering feats in the Greek world' III. 60.⁸⁰

CONCLUSION

Many of the above observations regarding Late Bronze Age exchanges are based on information

from palace records and archaeological finds from the Uluburun shipwreck. I fully realize that these probably represent only one end of the spectrum of long-distance communications during the Late Bronze Age. On the other hand, this evidence gives us a good impression of the high level of organization of long-distance contacts during this period, and of what was maximally possible in terms of setting, nature and scale. If we compare this picture to exchanges in the world of the Homeric heroes, we find that our previous conclusions are confirmed: it is not the similarities but the differences that are most conspicuous. Homeric overseas exchanges would fit a historical situation located somewhere between the post-palatial period and the Archaic era. Like a number of other aspects related to the socio-economic organization of the Homeric world,⁸¹ long-distance communications may be a reflection especially of those of the poet's own time.

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⁷⁷ Ialysos: *BCH* 122, 1998, 942 with refs. For recent evidence of an artificial harbour installation at Pylos, see Zanger et al. 1997, 619-23.

⁷⁸ Cf. Driessen 1995, esp. 649-51.

⁷⁹ *Epístion*, mentioned in 265, is most likely to be a slipway, see Heubeck, West & Hainsworth 1988, *ad loc.* Cf. *Il.* I. 485-6: ships hauled 'high up on the sand', propped up by using *ermata* (supports); *Il.* 153-4 (also mentioning *ouroi*, 'keel channels'); *XIV.* 409-11. Scheria's harbour must be regarded as extremely well-equipped, if compared to the demands that Homeric Greeks normally would make upon a good harbour; see the description of 'Goat Island' in *Od.* IX. 136-41; cf. *XIII.* 96-105, 114-5.

⁸⁰ For examples of Phoenician harbour installations from the 8th and 7th centuries BC, see Raban 1998, 433-7.

⁸¹ See Crielaard 1995.

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Gitiadas und der Krater von Vix*

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Der Krater von Vix (Abb. 1) wurde im *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* bisher zweimal besprochen, 1954 (kurz nach seiner Entdeckung im Jahr 1953) von Andreas Rumpf,¹ und 1964 von Maria W. Stoop.² Beide Male handelte es sich um bedeutende Beiträge, aus denen man eines schließen konnte: Der Krater von Vix ist ein Meisterwerk, das im 6. Jahrhundert v.Chr. in Lakonien hergestellt wurde. Wie es bei anonymen Meisterwerken zu gehen pflegt, wurden bald auch ganz andere Interpretationen vorgebracht. Bis heute ist die Diskussion um den Krater nicht zur Ruhe, d.h. zu keinem klaren Ergebnis gekommen. Eine *communis opinio* scheint fast unerreichbar zu sein. Zuschreibung und Datierung (die sich gegenseitig bedingen) schwanken nach wie vor zwischen Sparta, Korinth und Unteritalien, in einem chronologischen Rahmen, der nicht weniger als ein halbes Jahrhundert, nämlich die Jahre 570 bis 520, umfasst. Es scheint demnach sowohl zum Jubiläumsjahrgang dieser Zeitschrift zu passen, als auch wissenschaftlich sinnvoll zu sein, hier noch einmal die Fragen in Bezug auf den Krater von Vix im Licht neuer Erkenntnisse und neuen Materials zu erörtern. Ein historischer Ansatzpunkt ist zudem die Hypothese, dass der Krater von Vix ein Werk des Gitiadas ist, eines lakonischen Künstlers und Bronzebildners, den wir aus der Literatur kennen.³

I. GITIADAS

Zum Leben und Werk des Gitiadas haben wir nur eine Quelle: Pausanias. Diese Quelle fließt spärlich und ist nicht ungetrübt. Trotzdem enthält sie für uns wichtige Informationen. Die Grabungen und Forschungen des 20. Jahrhunderts haben unser Wissen um zusätzliche archäologische Informationen erweitert.

Auf seinen Wanderungen durch Lakonien im zweiten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert ist Pausanias zweimal auf den Namen des Gitiadas und auf seine künstlerischen Leistungen gestoßen. Das erste Mal, als er am Ende seines Besuches der Stadt Sparta den Stadthügel, die Akropolis, bestieg und dort den zu seiner Zeit schon 700 Jahre alten Tempel der Stadtgöttin Athena besichtigte. Er sagt es so (III, 17, 1-4): 'Die Akropolis in Lakedaimon ragt nicht zu ansehnlicher Höhe empor, wie die Kadmeia in Theben und die Larisa in Argos, sondern unter den mancherlei Hügeln in der Stadt nennen sie den höchsten Akropolis. Hier ist ein Heiligtum der Athena gebaut

mit Beinamen Poliouchos und Chalkioikos; den Bau des Heiligtums begann, wie sie sagen, Tyndareos. Nach seinem Tode wollten dann seine Söhne das Gebäude neu ausbauen, und dafür sollte ihnen die Beute von Aphidna als Grundlage dienen. Da aber auch diese es unvollendet ließen, errichteten die Lakedaimonier viele Jahre später sowohl den Tempel wie das Kultbild der Athena aus Bronze; Gitiadas, ein Einheimischer, führte es aus. Gitiadas dichtete aber auch neben anderen dorischen Gesängen einen Hymnos auf die Göttin. In Bronzereliefs dargestellt sind hier viele Taten des Herakles, aber auch vieles von dem, was er freiwillig leistete, und von den Taten der Söhne des Tyndareos unter anderem der Raub der Töchter des Leukippos, und Hephaistos, wie er seine Mutter von den Fesseln befreit. Auch das habe ich schon früher, wie es erzählt wird, in meinem Buch über Attika geschrieben. Auch Nymphen sind dargestellt, wie sie Perseus für seinen Zug nach Libyen und gegen die Medousa einen Helm und die Schuhe als Geschenk geben, mit denen er durch die Luft fliegen sollte. Auch die Geburt der Athena ist dargestellt und Amphitrite und Poseidon, was mir das Größte und Bemerkenswerteste zu sein schien.'⁴ Gitiadas erscheint zum zweiten Mal im Werk des

*Für die Überlassung der Fotos und die Erlaubnis zum Abdruck möchte ich folgende Museumsinstanzen danken: in Athen, das Nationalmuseum (Abb. 7, 8, 33, 34) und das Deutsche Archäologische Institut (Abb. 3-6, 18, 19); in Berlin, die Staatlichen Museen, Antikensammlung (Abb. 14, 15, 24, 31); in Ioannina, das Archäologische Museum (Abb. 32); in Mainz, das Römisch-Germanische Zentralmuseum (Abb. 1, 23, 26-30, 35-43, 49, 50, 53); in Mariemont, das Musée Royal (Abb. 48); in München, die Staatlichen Antikensammlungen (Abb. 16); in Stuttgart, das Württembergische Landesmuseum (Abb. 51, 52). Die Abbildungen Nr. 9, 10 und 11 sind aus Gauer 1991, Abb. 6, 7 und 24; die Nr. 12 aus Stibbe 1994a, 116, 1; Nr. 13 aus Tarditi 1996, 73; Nr. 22 aus Phaklaris 1990, 181 und Nr. 54 aus Joffroy 1954, 16 übernommen worden. Die Abb. Nr. 2, 44-47 sind Aufnahmen oder Zeichnungen des Verfassers. Herbert Post habe ich zu danken für die Korrektur meines deutschen Textes.

¹ A. Rumpf, Zum Krater von Vix, *BABesch* 29 (1954) 8-11. S. auch Rumpf 1957.

² M.W. Stoop, A Laconian Lady?, *BABesch* 39 (1964) 83-91. Später, in *BABesch* 60 (1985) 168-169, hat dieselbe Autorin und Herausgeberin der Zeitschrift noch einmal in einer Rezension die Probleme um den Krater von Vix in ihrer klaren, umsichtigen und humorvollen Art umrissen.

³ Der Verfasser hatte diese 'recht kühne Hypothese' schon einmal, ohne nähere Begründung, in einer Anmerkung vorgebracht, in: Stibbe 1996 b, 119 Anm. 44. Siehe auch *The Sons of Hephaistos*, Introduction, XIII.

⁴ Diese und die folgenden Zitate nach der Übersetzung von Ernst Meyer, *Pausanias Reisen in Griechenland*, Gesamtausgabe in



Abb. 1. Châtillon-sur Seine, Museum, Krater von Vix.

Pausanias, wo dieser beschreibt, was er in Amyklai, fünf Kilometer südlich von Sparta, gesehen hat (III, 18, 7-8): 'In Amyklai gibt es an Sehenswürdigkeiten einen Fünfkämpfer auf einer Stele mit Namen Ainetos. Er soll in Olympia gesiegt haben und noch während der Bekränzung gestorben sein. Von ihm steht hier also ein Bild und auch bronzene Dreifüße. Die älteren sollen der Zehnte aus dem Messenischen Kriege sein. Unter dem ersten Dreifuß stand eine Aphroditenstatue, unter dem zweiten eine Artemis, die Dreifüße und die Reliefs daran ein Werk des Gitiadas. Der dritte stammt von dem Aigineten Kallon, unter ihm steht eine Statue der Kore, der Tochter Demeters. Der Parier Aristandros und der Argiver Polyklet, von ihnen hat der eine eine Frau mit einer Leier gemacht, nämlich Sparta, Polyklet aber die sogenannte Aphrodite beim Amyklaion. Diese Dreifüße sind größer als die anderen und wurden aus der Beute des Sieges bei den Ziegenflüssen geweiht.'

Zu den beiden Stellen bei Pausanias, in denen Gitiadas mit Namen genannt wird, sollte man noch einer dritte hinzuziehen, in der sein Name zwar fehlt, aus der aber eine genauere Datierung der nach Pausanias von ihm und Kallon angefertigten Dreifüße hervorgeht. Die Stelle findet sich am Ende seiner Beschreibung des ersten Messenischen Krieges (736-716) und lautet (IV, 14, 2): 'Die Lakedaimonier zerstörten zuerst Ithome von Grund auf und griffen auch die übrigen Städte an und nahmen sie. Und aus der Beute stellten sie dem Amyklaios bronzene Dreifüße auf mit einem Aphroditebild unter dem ersten Dreifuß, einem der Artemis unter dem zweiten und einem der Kore und Demeter unter dem dritten.'

Aus dem hier vollständig zitierten Quellenmaterial können wir nun folgende Informationen über Gitiadas und seine Werke als gesichert hervorheben:

1. Gitiadas war ein Spartaner, ein ἀνὴρ ἐπιχώριος, wie Pausanias sagt (III, 17, 2). Diese Mitteilung ist für uns wichtig, da es, anders als im übrigen Griechenland, sehr ungewöhnlich war, dass sich ein Vollbürger als Künstler hervortat. Wie Herodot (II, 167, 2) sagt, waren es gerade die Spartaner, die unter allen Griechen die Künstler am meisten verachteten. Es ist diese schwerwiegende, heute oft zitierte Aussage Herodots, die Verwirrung gestiftet hat und falsch verstanden wurde. Zunächst müssen wir unterscheiden: Herodot spricht höchstwahrscheinlich über das Sparta seiner eigenen Zeit,⁵ und nicht über das archaische Sparta des 6. Jahrhunderts, in dem das einheimische Kunsthandwerk blühte und in dem hervorragende 'ausländische' Künstler und Architekten, wie Theodoros von Samos und Bathykleos von Magnesia, Staatsaufträge erhielten.⁶ Es dürfte für die Spartaner jener Tage geradezu eine Ehren-

sache gewesen sein, den Neubau ihres zentral gelegenen, weithin sichtbaren Tempels der Stadtgöttin auf der Akropolis einem einheimischen Künstler und Architekten anzuvertrauen. Ferner sollten wir uns fragen, ob jene von Herodot angeführte Verachtung tatsächlich so allgemein verbreitet und besonders in Sparta ausgebildet war, wie er sagt. Es gab gewiss Abstufungen, sowohl in der Gesellschaft wie auch unter Künstlern. Dichter z.B. waren keine Handwerker im engeren Sinne und genossen hohes Ansehen.⁷ Auch Architekten dürften gesellschaftlich anders eingestuft worden sein als etwa Töpfer. Goldschmiede und Elfenbeinbearbeiter dürften wichtiger gewesen sein, zumal für die weibliche Hälfte der Gesellschaft, als Steinhauer und Schuster. Hinzu kommt, was Sparta betrifft, die Frage, ob die Künstler im Allgemeinen Vollbürger (Spartiaten) sein konnten oder zur Schicht der Halbfreien (der Perioiken) oder gar zu den Staatssklaven (Heloten) gehörten. Pausanias lässt im Falle des Gitiadas die Frage offen, indem er ihn als ἀνὴρ ἐπιχώριος, d.h. als Einheimischen bezeichnet. An anderer Stelle jedoch (VI, 4, 4) bezeichnet er ausdrücklich zwei spartanische Künstler, die am Anfang des 6. Jahrhunderts gelebt haben, als Spartiaten (Σπαρτιάτας).⁸ Des öfteren benutzt er ferner die neutralen Bezeichnungen 'Lakones' oder 'Lakedaimones'. Im Falle Gitiadas könnte er also durchaus einen Vollbürger gemeint haben.⁹

2. Gitiadas war nicht nur als Architekt des neuen Athenatempels auf der Akropolis von Sparta tätig, sondern auch als Bronzebildner, der das Kultbild der Göttin und die mythologischen Szenen in der Bronzeverkleidung des Tempels schuf. Außerdem war er ein Dichter, der einen Lobgesang auf die Göttin verfasste. Man darf Gitiadas also als einen Universal-künstler bezeichnen. In erster Linie aber dürfte er ein Bronzebildner gewesen sein. Darauf deuten nicht nur die Schöpfung der Kultstatue und der mythologischen Reliefs hin, sondern auch die in Amyklai aufgestellten Dreifüße von seiner Hand.

Neben diesen eindeutigen Aussagen enthalten die zitierten Stellen aus dem Werk des Pausanias auch

drei Bänden auf Grund der kommentierten Übersetzung von Ernst Meyer herausgegeben von Felix Eckstein, II (1986/7).

⁵ Herodot besuchte wohl um die Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts Sparta. S. dazu Stibbe 1998, 45.

⁶ Zu Theodoros von Samos in Sparta s. Stibbe 1989, 71 und Ders. 1998, 35. Zu Bathykleos: Faustoferri 1996.

⁷ Dazu Stibbe, *Das andere Sparta*, Kapitel 4 und 5.

⁸ Es handelt sich um die sonst nicht bekannten Bildhauer Syadras und Chartas. Dazu Stibbe, *Das andere Sparta*, 118.

⁹ Zu dieser und ähnlichen Fragen s. P. Cartledge, *LCM* 1 (1976) 115-9.

widersprüchliche Mitteilungen, vor allem was die Datierung der Werke des Gitiadas und damit dessen Lebenszeit betrifft. Nach Pausanias III, 14, 2 wären die beiden Dreifüße des Gitiadas und der eine Dreifuß des Kallon im Anschluss an den ersten Messenischen Krieg (736-716) im Amyklaion aufgestellt worden. Das würde bedeuten, dass beide Künstler um 700 v.Chr. gelebt hätten. Hier muss ein Irrtum vorliegen, denn von Kallon besitzen wir eine Signatur in Marmor, die um 500 datierbar ist.¹⁰ An diesem Punkt setzte eine langwierige Diskussion ein, die zu keinem klaren Ergebnis, nur zu weiteren Irrungen und Wirrungen geführt hat. Bis zu den englischen Ausgrabungen am Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts verfügte man ohnehin über keine ausreichende Grundlage, um das Problem der Lebenszeit des Gitiadas zu lösen.¹¹

Obwohl die englische Ausgrabung auf der Akropolis von Sparta nur stoßweise, in weit auseinanderliegenden Etappen (zwischen 1906 und 1930) stattfand und nie vollständig publiziert wurde, erbrachte sie wichtige Befunde. Vor allen Dingen ermöglichte sie eine von Pausanias unabhängige Datierung des Tempels des Gitiadas und damit seiner Lebenszeit, wie im Folgenden dargelegt werden soll. Man kann sich nur wundern, dass moderne Interpreten sich trotzdem immer wieder von den falschen Angaben bei Pausanias haben verführen lassen und unhaltbare Theorien aufgestellt haben.¹²

Die englischen Ausgrabungen des Tempels der Athena Chalkioikos

Die englische Ausgrabung fand im wesentlichen vom 3. bis zum 19. April 1906 unter der Leitung von Guy Dickins statt. Dieser veröffentlichte einen vorläufigen Bericht in *BSA* XIII (1906/7) 142-146. Kürzer und bündiger ist kaum denkbar. Auch die Funde wurden an gleicher Stelle kurz katalogisiert (146ff.). Eine endgültige Publikation ist nie erschienen.¹³

An der Stelle, wo man ohnehin den Tempel der Stadtgöttin vermutete, auf dem höchsten Punkt der Akropolis, oberhalb des Theaters,¹⁴ kam eine von Osten nach Westen verlaufende Quadermauer ohne Mörtel mit einer Länge von 25.20 m zum Vorschein. Sie wurde sofort als eine Stützmauer ('retaining wall') bezeichnet, obwohl es an den Längsseiten rechteckig angrenzende Quermauern gleicher Beschaffenheit gab (*Abb. 2*). Letztere verliefen Richtung Norden und wären somit geeignet, die ganze Anlage als das Fundament eines rechteckigen, aus Holz und Lehmziegeln errichteten Kultbaues zu identifizieren.¹⁵

Wie auch immer, deutlich war, dass die Anlage ins 6. Jahrhundert v.Chr. datiert werden musste, da die Konstruktion mit der des Artemis Orthiatempels

übereinstimmte, der damals bereits entdeckt worden und gut zu datieren war.¹⁶ Eine genauere Datierung ergab sich, so der Ausgräber, aus dem Inhalt einer Schicht, die sich unmittelbar innerhalb der erwähnten 25.20 m langen Mauer befand. Diese Schicht war die Folge einer Einebnung des Heiligtums in der Spätantike.¹⁷ Die Füllung enthielt Funde, die von der Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts bis in die spätrömische Epoche datiert werden können.¹⁸ Die Schicht ließ sich durch Farbtönung und Inhalt eindeutig von einer tieferliegenden, geometrischen Schicht unterscheiden. Das Heiligtum hat also zwei deutlich erkennbare Phasen, eine geometrische und eine archaisch-klassisch-römische, gekannt.¹⁹ Letztere vertritt die Form, die Pausanias gesehen hat und die siebenhundert Jahre zuvor von Gitiadas errichtet worden war.

Der Tempel des Gitiadas muss also vor den ältesten Funden in der erwähnten Füllung datiert werden,

¹⁰ Siehe A. Giuliano, in *EAA* IV (1961) 304.

¹¹ Vgl. J.G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* III (1898) 350. Dickins 1906/7, 137-139.

¹² Anstatt den Irrtum in Pausanias Angaben auf sich beruhen zu lassen, hat man Gitiades' und Kallons Dreifüße nach einem an sich schon problematischen 'dritten Messenischen Krieg' in die erste Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts datieren wollen. Damit wäre der Tempel der Athena Chalkioikos und die Lebenszeit des Gitiades möglicherweise irgendwann zwischen 530 und 500 anzusetzen. Als zusätzliches Argument wird eine (als solche nicht nachgewiesene) Blütezeit der lakonischen Bronzeindustrie in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts als Hintergrund für die Arbeiten des Gitiades ins Spiel gebracht. Vgl. Torelli 1991, ad loc., der sich auf die verfehlt Dissertation U. Häfners, *Das Kunstschaffen Lakoniens in archaischer Zeit*, Münster 1965 (dazu Herfort-Koch 1986, 11f.) beruft; und Pipili 1987, 80, die sogar behauptet: '...There is absolutely nothing to indicate that Gitiades was an early rather than late sixth-century artist.'

¹³ In *BSA* XIV (1907/8) 142-146 gibt derselbe G. Dickins noch einen kurzen Bericht über eine Untersuchung im östlichen Teil des Heiligtums der Athena Chalkioikos, die er 'much less productive' nennt. Sie fand 1908 statt.

¹⁴ Vgl. *BSA* XII (1905/6) 439.

¹⁵ Diese Auffassung wurde bereits vorgebracht in Stibbe 1989, 93f. Ders. *Das andere Sparta*, 24f. Die Engländer hingegen vermuteten den Tempel, der von Thukydides (I, 134) als οἰκημα οὐ μέγα bezeichnet wird, an einer anderen Stelle, auf einer Terrasse innerhalb des 'retaining wall'.

¹⁶ Dazu *BSA* XIII (1906/7) 144: 'it is built of large roughly trimmed polygonal blocks without mortar.'

¹⁷ *BSA* XIII (1906/7) 145: 'the main source of the discoveries ... was ... the space immediately inside the enclosure wall. The stratum was as deep in places as one metre and rested in the western part on virgin soil, in the eastern on the Geometric stratum.'

¹⁸ A.a.O.: 'It can be dated by the objects found in it as early as the middle of the sixth century, and probably represents a portion of the accumulated débris of the sanctuary from the time of the restoration of Gitiades to a late Roman period.'

¹⁹ Merkwürdig bleibt, dass die Zwischenphase des 7. Jahrhunderts kaum unter den Funden vertreten ist. Dickins 1906/7, 153 sagt nur: 'Of the Orientalizing period a very few sherds were found above the Geometric, outside the enclosure, but inside, the only representatives of the period were a considerable number of miniature vases.'



Abb. 2. Sparta, Akropolis, Grundmauern des Tempels der Athena Chalkioikos.

d.h. vor 550 v.Chr.²⁰ Bei den ältesten Funden handelt es sich um zwei Bronzestuetten, ein Palladion und eine Peplophore,²¹ die man heute um 560 datiert.²² Der Bau des Tempels kann demnach kurz vorher, das heißt in das Jahrzehnt 570-560 festgelegt werden.²³ Da Gitiadas den Auftrag zum Bau des Tempels der Stadtgöttin wohl erst bekam, nachdem er sich bereits einen Namen gemacht hatte (er dürfte damals etwas 40-50 Jahre alt gewesen sein), können wir seine künstlerische Laufbahn getrost in die erste Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts ansetzen. Dieser Ansatz, der schon vom Ausgräber Guy Dickins vorgeschlagen worden war,²⁴ macht Gitiadas zum vielleicht etwas jüngeren Zeitgenossen der wenigen übrigen lakonischen Künstler, deren Namen erhalten sind. Diese arbeiteten in Olympia und werden ebenfalls von Pausanias erwähnt.²⁵ Unter ihnen fallen die Brüder Ariston und Telestas auf, da sie ebenfalls als Bronzebildner genannt werden: Sie schufen im Auftrag der Kleitorier für Olympia eine überlebensgroße Bronzestatue des Zeus.²⁶ Die erhaltene Namensinschrift des Telestas auf dem Rand einer Bronzehydria stellt überdies eine wahrscheinliche Verbindung zwischen diesen Künstlern und der lakonischen Bronzeindustrie im Allgemeinen her.²⁷

Es gibt noch ein weiteres Argument, das für eine Tätigkeit des Gitiadas in der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts spricht, auf das ebenfalls zuerst Guy Dickins hingewiesen hat: die Idee an sich, einen Tempel mit Bronzeplatten zu verkleiden und diese zumindest teilweise in Reliefarbeit mit mythologischen Szenen auszustatten.²⁸ Diese Idee geht auf nahöstliche Vorbilder zurück und kam in zwei Wellen, in mykenischer Zeit und im 7. Jahrhundert, nach Griechenland.²⁹ Der starke Einfluss orientalischer

²⁰ Vgl. Dickins 1906/7, 145.

²¹ BSA XIII (1906/7) 147-149, Abb. 4 (das Palladion) und 149-150, Abb. 5 (die Peplophore).

²² Herfort-Koch 1986, Nr. K40 (560-550) und K33 (560). Die Datierungen von Herfort-Koch sind vielleicht etwas zu spät angesetzt. Zum Palladion s. weiter unten.

²³ Dies sind selbstverständlich nur Annäherungswerte.

²⁴ Dickins 1906/7, 139.

²⁵ S. die Zusammenstellung in Stibbe, *Das andere Sparta*, 116ff.

²⁶ Pausanias V, 13, 7.

²⁷ Dazu Stibbe 1992, 12 Nr. C5, Abb. 17-18. Stibbe, *Das andere Sparta*, 117f. mit Abb. 44, 45.

²⁸ Dickins 1906/7, 140.

²⁹ Vgl. R. Demangel, *La frise ionique* (1933) 65ff. P. Verzone, in *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson I* (1951) 272-294. M. Guarducci, Ianus Geminus, in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire offerts à André Piganiol* (1966) 1617ff.



Abb. 3. Sparta, Museum 2018, Palladion aus dem Tempel der Athena Chalkioikos.



Abb. 4. Dasselbe, Seitenansicht.

Vorbilder in der lakonischen Bronzeindustrie ist auf das Ende des 7. und den Anfang des 6. Jahrhunderts beschränkt.³⁰ Der bronzene Tempel des Gitiadas dürfte einer der letzten Vertreter des Typus sein.³¹ Ein wenig älter war die Bronzeverkleidung der aus Holz gefertigten Säulen des Heratempels in Olympia.³² Dieser Tempel stand unter starkem lakonischem Einfluss und wurde vielleicht von einem lakonischen Architekten erbaut.³³ Noch ältere Beispiele in Griechenland sind der von Pausanias (X, 5, 11) erwähnte dritte Apollontempel in Delphi und die beiden Thalamoi, die Myron, ein Tyrann der Sikyonier, um die Mitte des 7. Jahrhunderts in Olympia geweiht hatte (Pausanias VI, 19, 2).³⁴ Von ganz eigener Prägung dürften die mythologischen Szenen sein, die Pausanias (III, 17, 3) kurz beschreibt.³⁵ Vielleicht waren diese an der Innenseite des Tempels angebracht, während man die

unverzierten Bronzeplatten, von denen sich zahlreiche Reste zusammen mit den Bronzenägeln erhalten haben,³⁶ für die Außenseite bestimmt hatte.

³⁰ Stibbe 1996a, passim.

³¹ Jüngere Beispiele gibt es im Westen: in Kyrene (AJA LXII, 1968, 174, vom Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts) und in Rom, der Janustempel beim Forum Romanum, der sogar von einem Lakonier gebaut sein könnte (so Guarducci, a.a.O., oben Anm. 29, 1616).

³² R. Hampe, AA 53 (1938) 359-369, Abb. 3-5. Guarducci, a.a.O. 1616, Anm. 4.

³³ Vgl. Stibbe, *Das andere Sparta*, 123ff.

³⁴ Pausanias sah die beiden Schreine, den einen im dorischen, den anderen im ionischen Stil, im jüngeren Schatzhaus der Sikyonier. Sie dienten wohl als Behälter für Weihgeschenke.

³⁵ Zur Eigenart dieser Szenen s. Pipili 1987, 80. Sie glaubt übrigens, dass die Szenen auf dem Gewand der Göttin gearbeitet waren. Dagegen I. Bald-Romano, *Early Greek Cult Images* (1980) 128-135.

³⁶ Dickins 1906/7, 139.

Auch diese Szenen passen in ihrer Art – ob sie nun durchlaufend oder in Metopen unterteilt waren – zu den bevorzugten Darstellungen in der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts. Beispiele sind: die Kypseloslade, der Françoiskrater oder sogar der Amykläische Thron,³⁷ den man neuerdings um die Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts datiert hat.³⁸

Wir haben uns etwas länger mit der Frage der Datierung des Tempels der Athena Chalkioikos und der Lebenszeit des Gitiadas befasst, nicht nur weil diese Datierung entscheidend für ein richtiges Verständnis des Künstlers und seiner Werke ist, sondern auch weil einige Forscher noch immer auf eine Spätdatierung, ans Ende des 6. oder sogar an den Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts, beharren.

Die Datierung der Dreifüße des Gitiadas und des Kallon, die nach Pausanias (III, 18, 7 und IV, 14, 2) kurz nach dem ersten Messenischen Krieg im Amyklaion aufgestellt worden waren, ist von der modernen Kritik allgemein als Irrtum entlarvt worden. Er beruht wohl auf einer falschen Information, die Pausanias vor Ort von irgendwelchen Leuten erhalten haben mag und von der er sich selbst distanziert, wenn er schreibt: *φασιν* -, man sagt.³⁹ Es hat keinen Sinn, diese falsche Information dahin berichten zu wollen, dass man an Stelle des ersten, den zweiten⁴⁰ oder sogar den recht obskuren dritten Messenischen Krieg⁴¹ in der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts als Ersatz anbietet. Dies wirft nur neue Probleme auf. Methodisch einwandfrei erscheint dagegen, wenn man von der Datierung des Tempels der Athena Chalkioikos ausgeht, wie sie sich aus dem Ausgrabungsbefund ergibt. Als Ergebnis halten wir demnach fest:

1. Die Fundumstände bei der Ausgrabung des Tempels der Athena Chalkioikos zeigen, dass der Bau des Gitiadas um 570-560 datiert werden kann.
2. Die Lebenszeit des Gitiadas fällt auf Grund dieses Befundes in die erste Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts.
3. Die Lebenszeit des Gitiadas lässt ihn als Zeitgenossen einer Reihe aus Olympia bekannter lakonischer Künstler erscheinen. Einer von ihnen ist Telestas, dessen Name eine Verbindung zur lakonischen Bronzeindustrie herstellt.
4. Die Idee, einen Tempel mit Bronzebeschlag auszustatten, ist nächstlichen Ursprungs und bestätigt die Datierung für den Tempel der Athena Chalkioikos und damit für Gitiadas.
5. Die Verzierung des Tempels der Athena Chalkioikos nicht nur mit einfachen Bronzeplatten, sondern auch mit solchen, die mythologische Szenen in Relief zeigten, entspricht dem Geschmack des gleichen Zeitabschnittes (der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts).

Es stellt sich nunmehr die Frage, wie das Kultbild der Athena Chalkioikos, das laut Pausanias ein Werk

des Gitiadas war, ausgesehen hat. Drei Vorschläge sind dazu gemacht worden.

1. Schon im 19. Jahrhundert sah man, dass in der ersten im Hellenismus einsetzenden lakonischen Münzprägung manchmal altertümliche – manchmal auch jüngere – Kultstatuen abgebildet wurden.⁴² So die aus Pausanias bekannte pfeilerförmige und überlebensgroße Bronzestatue des Apollon Amyklaios.⁴³ Auf einigen Münzen aus der Zeit des Gallienus und der Salonina fand man eine Darstellung der Athena, die 'sich eindeutig mit dem von Gitiadas geschaffenen archaischen Kultbild der Athena Chalkioikos oder Poliouchos verbinden' lässt.⁴⁴ Dargestellt ist 'der Oberkörper der mit Helm, Schild und Lanze bewaffneten Göttin, entsprechend menschlichen Formen, während der Unterkörper mit horizontalen Bändern streifenförmig umgeben ist und in der Form einem Bienenhinterteil ähnelt'.⁴⁵ Diese Bänder hat man als Stickereien auf dem Gewand der Göttin gedeutet, die vielleicht sogar als die von Pausanias erwähnten in Bronze getriebenen mythologischen Szenen verstanden werden können.⁴⁶

Solche Spekulationen wollen wir auf sich beruhen lassen und festhalten, dass die altertümliche Darstellung auf den Münzen des Gallienus tatsächlich eine Wiedergabe der stehenden (nicht schreitenden) Athena des Gitiadas sein könnte. Sie ist als solche eine Vertreterin des damals weit verbreiteten sogenannten Palladion-Typus.⁴⁷

2. Die oben bereits erwähnte Bronzestatue einer Athena, die im Zentrum der Tempel-Anlage der Athena Chalkioikos in Sparta in 50 cm Tiefe gefunden wurde (Abb. 3, 4),⁴⁸ gehört ebenfalls zum Palladion-Typus. Sie ist leider in schrecklicher Weise, wohl absichtlich, verstümmelt: genau über den ausgestochenen Augen ist der Kopf mitsamt dem Helm abgetrennt worden; von den Armen, die Schild und Speer trugen, sind nur Stümpfe erhalten; die Füße, soweit sie vorn unter

³⁷ Faustoferri 1996, 192.

³⁸ Faustoferri 1996, passim.

³⁹ F. Kiechle, *Messenische Studien* (1959) 117, schreibt: 'Da Pausanias den Grund der Weihung mit dem Zusatz *φασιν* gibt, stand dieser wohl nicht auf den Dreifüßen verzeichnet, sondern er erfuhr ihn aus anderer Quelle...'

⁴⁰ So Dickins 1906/7, 139.

⁴¹ Dazu Dickins 1906/7, 138. Kiechle, a.a.O. (oben Anm. 39) 118.

⁴² Dazu Grunauer 1978, 139.

⁴³ Pausanias III, 18, 7. Dazu Grunauer 1978, 99 mit Taf. 32, 12.

⁴⁴ Grunauer 1978, 103f. mit Taf. 28, 29, 32, 41.

⁴⁵ Grunauer 1978, 103f.

⁴⁶ Siehe J. Overbeck, *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik I* (1893) 72-77.

⁴⁷ Dazu allgemein: *LIMC II* (1984) 965f. Nr. 67-1010, 1029. S. auch H.G. Niemeyer, *Promachos* (1960) 23, Anm. 42.

⁴⁸ Dickins 1906/7, 145, 147ff.



Abb. 5. Paris, Louvre Br 145, Palladion aus Kirrha.



Abb. 6. Dasselbe, Rückenansicht.

dem langen Gewand hervorschauen, sind abgeschlagen. Trotzdem ist die Göttin noch erkennbar, zunächst am Rest ihres Helms, dessen Rand im Nacken hervortritt (Abb. 4), dann auch an der Stellung der Arme, die angewinkelt Schild und Speer trugen. Die Göttin schaut gerade vor sich hin. Der schlanke, jugendliche Körper (die Brüste kaum entwickelt) ist in einen langen, eng anliegenden Peplos gehüllt.⁴⁹ Die Füße stehen dicht nebeneinander. Ein schmaler Gürtel betont die Taille. Das Gewand ist am Unterkörper mit drei senkrecht verlaufenden Reihen eingepunzter

Kreise verziert, am Oberkörper hat der Künstler ebensolche Kreise bis zu den Ärmeln dicht aneinander gerückt. Zwei Paare gegabelter, horizontal gekerbter Haarsträhnen fallen über die Brust. Das gleiche Treppmuster kehrt an den sieben Strähnen zurück, die in einer geschlossenen Masse tief auf den Rücken fallen. Der Ausdruck des breit-ovalen Gesichts wird von den eigenartig ausgetieften, kleinen, runden Augen

⁴⁹ Das Apoptygma ist vorne noch gerade erkennbar, auf der Rückseite jedoch klar abgehoben.

bestimmt. Diese waren vielleicht mit einem anderen Material eingelegt.⁵⁰ Die Nase ist flach abgerieben, der Mund klein und schmal. Eine kleine Locke liegt beiderseits vor dem Ohr auf der Wange.

Wie der Kopf mit Helm und hohem Helmbusch ursprünglich ausgesehen haben mag, vermittelt eine fragmentarische Statuette, die in Kirrha, unweit von Delphi, zum Vorschein kam und denselben Typus vertritt (*Abb. 5, 6*). Sie ist als ein Werk lakonischer Provenienz anerkannt.⁵¹ Man sieht den gleichen wulstförmigen Nackenschutz des Helmes. Eigenartig ist, dass dieser das Gesicht ganz frei lässt und über der Stirn drei kreisförmige Ornamente, wohl Blüten, aufweist. Diese Einzelheiten dürften auf das Kultbild, dem die Statuette nachgebildet ist, zurückzuführen sein.⁵² Es fehlen an dieser Kopie die eingepunzten Kreise auf dem Gewand. Dafür weist sie die für lakonische Statuetten bezeichnenden Rückenfalten von der Taille abwärts auf.⁵³

Es gibt keine weiteren Palladia von ähnlicher Qualität. Nur unsere Nr. 3 kommt noch zum Vergleich in Betracht.⁵⁴ Allerdings gibt es eine Reihe lakonischer Frauenfiguren, die ähnlich geformt sind und die ikonographische Tradition, in der die Palladia eine Variante bilden, herausstellen.⁵⁵ Eine von ihnen wurde, wie oben erwähnt, zusammen mit unserem Palladion im Tempelbezirk der Athena Chalkioikos gefunden.

3. Ein vollständig erhaltenes Palladion, das unweit des Tempels der Athena Alea in Tegea zum Vorschein kam (*Abb. 7, 8*),⁵⁶ wurde 1996 zum ersten Mal in Zusammenhang mit den beiden Hauptthemen dieses Aufsatzes – Gitiadas und der Krater von Vix – erörtert.⁵⁷ An dieser Statuette scheinen im Vergleich zu den oben erwähnten Palladia alle Formen ein wenig übertrieben zu sein. Es entsteht dadurch beinahe der Eindruck einer Karikatur. Der hohe Helmbusch hat seine Eleganz eingebüßt und ist kurz und breit geworden. Die drei Blüten am Helm über der Stirn sind zu zwei hörnerförmigen Kelchen ausgewachsen, der Körper ist kurz und gerundet statt hoch und schlank, die Zipfel der Aegis sperren sich wie Flügel nach außen, und das Gorgoneion auf der Aegis scheint überproportional vergrößert zu sein.⁵⁸ Lakonische Züge, wie die in ungleicher Höhe eingesetzten Augen, die getrepten langen Strähnen vorne und hinten und die Gewandfalten, die an der Rückseite der Taille abwärts fallen, bleiben unverkennbar. Auch die reichliche Anwendung eingepunzter Kreise (vor allem hinten auf der Aegis, aber auch am Gewandsaum) erinnern an das Palladion aus Sparta. Schließlich sei noch auf die Form der Augen, der Augenlider und der Nase

hingewiesen, Gesichtszüge, die eine Verbindung zu der Mantelfrau auf dem Deckel des Kraters von Vix herstellen. Darauf kommen wir noch zurück.

Wenn wir die drei besprochenen Palladia⁵⁹ vergleichen und in einen möglichen Zusammenhang mit dem Kultbild der Athena Chalkioikos des Gitiadas stellen wollen, dann fallen zunächst die erheblichen Unterschiede auf. Allerdings sollte man diese nicht überbewerten, rühren sie doch von der unterschiedlichen Fähigkeit der jeweiligen Kopisten her, das Urbild in so kleinem Maßstab zu reproduzieren. Wenn diese Vermutung zutrifft, dann erhalten die Übereinstimmungen umso größeres Gewicht.

Bei der Nr. 1 sind mit einiger Mühe waagrechte Streifen am unteren Gewandteil zu erkennen. Eine Streifenverzierung dieser Art (mit verschiedenen geometrischen und sonstigen Mustern oder sogar mit figürlichen Darstellungen)⁶⁰ ist für das große Kultbild durchaus annehmbar. Diese Verzierung ist bei Nr. 2 jedoch auf Reihen eingepunzter Kreise

⁵⁰ Vgl. die Frauenprotome aus Sparta, Stibbe 1996a, Taf. 26, 2-6.

⁵¹ Paris, Louvre Br 145. Herfort-Koch 1986, 26, 91 Nr. K41 (Bibl.). Ihre Datierung (540) ist zu spät angesetzt: die Stirnhaare sind in der Mitte noch nicht zugespitzt, die Augen sind noch sehr groß und fein umrandet. Die Datierung Pipilis 1987, 45: um 550, erscheint schon richtiger.

⁵² Solche Blütenkränze oder Diademe waren übrigens im Lakonischen beliebt. Siehe Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 176. Sie kehren an einer stark lakonisch beeinflussten, schreitenden Athena-Statuette in Basel wieder (*AntK* 12, 1969, Taf. 47, 5-6). Dann auch des öfteren bei 'Nymphen' an unteritalienischen Kannen und in Etrurien. Dazu R. Blatter, *AA* 1966, 54f., der 'ionischen Einfluss' erkennt.

⁵³ Dazu Stoop 1964, passim.

⁵⁴ Die von Pipili 1987, 45, 117 Nr. 142 und Herfort-Koch 1986, 26, 91 Nr. K42 in diesem Zusammenhang erwähnte Palladia in Mariemont und Baltimore sind nicht lakonisch. Das interessante Stück in Mariemont, aus Messenien, ist korinthisch oder korinthisch beeinflusst; es dürfte eine späte, archaisierende Nachahmung sein.

⁵⁵ Dazu Herfort-Koch 1986, 21ff.

⁵⁶ Athen, National Archäologisches Museum 142828. H. 12,6 ohne Helm 9,5. Grünbraune Patina. Herfort-Koch 1986, 26, Anm. 96 (Bibl.).

⁵⁷ Stibbe 1996b, 118f.

⁵⁸ Es entsteht dadurch eine irreführende Ähnlichkeit mit der sitzenden Figur in Athen, die man mit Endoios in Verbindung gebracht hat; (z.B. E. Langlotz, *Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst*, 1975, 175, Anm. 22. Dagegen mit Recht: D. Viviers, *Recherches sur les ateliers de sculpteurs et la cité d'Athènes à l'époque archaïque*. Endoios, Philergos, Aristoklès (1992) 156-158.

⁵⁹ Zu der Nr. 2 wollen wir die fragmentarische Athena-Statuette aus Kirrha ergänzend in unsere Betrachtungen einbeziehen, ohne das jedesmal zu betonen.

⁶⁰ Die Vermutung Pipilis 1987, 44, es handle sich um ein in Sphyraton-Technik ausgeführtes Kultbild, beruht auf der bereits oben als wenig wahrscheinlich zurückgewiesenen Annahme, Pausanias II, 17, 2 beschreibe die figürlich verzierten Bronzeplatten nicht an der Wand des Tempels, sondern am Gewand der Göttin (als 'bronze-sheets'). Vgl. Niemeyer 1960, 56.



Abb. 7. Athen, Nationalmuseum 14828, Palladion aus Tegea.



Abb. 8. Dasselbe, Seitenansicht.

reduziert, die wiederum am Palladion aus Kirrha fehlen. An der Nr. 3 sind diese Kreise auf den Gewandsaum beschränkt.

Nr. 1 und Nr. 3 stimmen überein in der reichlichen Anwendung eingepunzter Kreise am oberen Gewandteil (bei Nr. 1) und an der Aegis (bei Nr. 3, an der sie sogar die Kalotte des Helmes zieren). Was bedeuten diese Kreise? Ursprünglich wohl nichts anderes als ein Fell. Man kann daher vermuten, dass der Oberkörper des Originals mit einer Aegis ausgestattet war, die mittels solcher Kreise als Ziegenhaut gekennzeichnet und vielleicht mit einem Gorgoneion versehen war (wie bei Nr. 3). Unsere Kopisten haben die Bedeutung der Kreise am Original nicht erfasst und sie über das ganze Gewand (zumindest bei Nr. 2 und Nr. 3, nicht bei der Kirrha-Statuette) verteilt.

Ein hübsches Missverständnis des Kopisten stellen, wie oben bereits erwähnt, die hörnerförmigen

Kelche am Helm der Nr. 3 dar. Für die Nr. 2 sind sie ebenfalls anzunehmen, da sie am Helm des Palladions aus Kirrha erhalten sind. Das Original des Gitiadas war also möglicherweise mit einem solchen Blütendiadem am Helm ausgestattet.⁶¹

Völlig abweichend von den anderen und eigenständig erscheinen die Gesichtszüge der Nr. 3. Die große, im Profil hakenförmige Nase kann man noch als einen allgemein lakonischen Zug gelten lassen,⁶² aber die kugelförmigen Augen – eingebettet in

⁶¹ Dazu oben Anm. 52. Vieviers, a.a.O. (oben Anm. 58) 156, weiß mit den Kelchen am Helm nichts anzufangen: '...les deux appendices placés de part et d'autre du casque n'apparaissent dans aucun autre exemple.' Vgl. Niemeyer 1960, 32, 56.

⁶² Vgl. z.B. die Bronzestatuetten eines Greises und eines Reiters aus Olympia (beide in Seitenansicht abgebildet bei A. Pasquier, *BCH* 106, 1982, 303, Abb. 31 und 33) und ein plastischer Aryballos im Louvre in Form eines menschlichen Kopfes (ebenda 289, Abb. 13-14).

schwere und zugleich dünne Lider, deren Ecken nach beiden Seiten scharf ausschwingen und dort einen kleinen Hohlraum umfassen – verraten eine bestimmte Hand, der wir bei der Mantelfrau auf dem Deckel des Kraters von Vix und ihren Verwandten wiederbegegnen.⁶³ Beachtenswert sind auch die auf ungleicher Höhe eingesetzten Augen – ein Zug, den man allerdings wieder als allgemein Lakonisch bezeichnen kann.⁶⁴ Zumindest die Form der Augen dürfte der Kopist vom Kultbild übernommen haben. Gerade bei dieser wichtigen Einzelheit lassen uns die Nr. 1 und 2 im Stich. Letztere ist zu stark beschädigt, um über die ursprüngliche Form der Augen Aufschluss geben zu können. Die Parallele aus Kirrha wiederum schließt sich hier einer anderen Tradition an.⁶⁵

Zusammenfassend halten wir fest, dass die Betrachtung der drei 'Kopien' des Kultbildes der Athena Chalkioikos Folgendes ergeben hat: Die Statue hatte die Form eines Palladions. Sie trug einen Helm eines besonderen Typus, ausgestattet mit einem Blütendiadem. Ihr Gewand war verziert und trug eine Aegis. Ihre Gesichtszüge können zum Teil als allgemein lakonisch, zum Teil auch als individuell bezeichnet werden.

Auf das individuelle Element kommen wir weiter unten zurück.

II. DER MEISTER DES KRATERS VON VIX UND OLYMPIA

Der Großteil der in Sparta und in Lakonien gefundenen Bronzen ist nie als solche gesammelt und zugänglich gemacht worden. Er würde ein eindrucksvolles Korpus darstellen.⁶⁶ Trotzdem ist es fraglich, ob er für die Gesamtproduktion der lakonischen Bronzeindustrie repräsentativ wäre. Hier verhält es sich ähnlich wie bei der lakonischen Keramik: ihre wirkliche Leistung lernt man erst kennen, wenn man die exportierten Gefäße einbezieht. So sollte man, will man die Leistung der lakonischen Bronzebildner richtig würdigen, die diesbezüglichen Funde in Olympia, in Delphi, Dodona, in Süditalien, auf dem Balkan und in Nordeuropa studieren.

Nicht zufällig wurden die beiden größten und am besten erhaltenen Bronzegefäße lakonischer Provenienz in keltischen Fürstengräbern gefunden: mitten in Frankreich der Krater von Vix und mitten in Süddeutschland der Kessel von Hochdorf.⁶⁷ Dazu gesellen sich die weniger kolossalen, aber dennoch eindrucksvollen Bronzhydrien aus Gräbern in der Schweiz (Grächwil bei Bern) und in Ungarn (Artánd).⁶⁸ Ferner die lakonischen Bronzen aus den Gräbern illyrischer Fürsten in Mazedonien (bei Trebenische): ein Volutenkrater, ein Dinoskrater, eine Oinochoe und ein Stabdreifuß.⁶⁹

Außerhalb Lakoniens in den von Griechen bewohnten Gebieten in Süditalien und in Griechenland selbst sind die Funde ebenfalls beeindruckend: ganze Komplexe kamen in Capua,⁷⁰ in Paestum⁷¹ und in den bereits genannten großen Heiligtümern des griechischen Mutterlandes zum Vorschein.

Das bei den Spartanern über Jahrhunderte beliebteste panhellenische Heiligtum war ohne Zweifel Olympia.⁷² Wie oben bereits erwähnt, sind die einzigen uns erhaltenen Namen lakonischer Bronzebildner und Künstler, die in Gold und Elfenbein arbeiteten, mit Olympia verbunden.⁷³ Es treten anonyme Bronzebildner hinzu, deren Werke, oft von hervorragender Qualität, nur fragmentarisch erhalten sind. Es würde sich lohnen, eine vollständige Liste aller Bronzen aus Olympia, die lakonischen Toreuten zugeschrieben werden können, zusammenzustellen. Wir beschränken uns hier jedoch auf einige Stücke, die für unser Thema von Bedeutung sind. Dabei gehen wir von der Annahme aus, dass, wenn der lakonische Bronzebildner, der den Krater von Vix schuf, tatsächlich, wie Gitiadas, ein in Sparta lebender Künstler war, er auch Spuren in Olympia hinterlassen haben muss.

Zunächst sei darauf hingewiesen, dass auch in Olympia solche grossen Bronzegefäße, wie der Krater von Vix und der Kessel von Hochdorf, aufgestellt waren. Die Reste reichen gerade aus, um die Form und den ursprünglichen Umfang zu ermitteln.

⁶³ Dazu Stibbe 1996b, 119.

⁶⁴ Unter den zahlreichen Beispielen ist wohl der relativ große Kopf in Boston (Herfort-Koch 1986, 105 Nr. K85, Taf. 11, 10-11) das bekannteste.

⁶⁵ Die großen Augen dieser Statuette gehören gewiss auch in die lakonische Tradition (vgl. etwa die Frauenköpfe der Hydrien der Telestas-Gruppe, s. Gauer 1991, Taf. 86, 1 Nr. Hy 12) oder die Köpfe der Henkelkouroi in Jerusalem und London (*The Sons of Hephaistos* 31, Fig. 18 und 35 Fig. 22), sind aber eher 'neutral' im Vergleich zu der Augenpartie unserer Nr. 3.

⁶⁶ Vgl. bei Herfort-Koch 1986, 139f. die Liste für das Museum in Sparta und die 145f. im Fundortregister aufgeführten Stücke. Beide Listen sind jedoch nicht vollständig.

⁶⁷ Zum lakonisch beeinflussten Kessel von Hochdorf s. weiter unten (Abschnitt IV).

⁶⁸ Stibbe 1992, 6, 53 Nr. A2 (Bibl.) und 20ff., 55 Nr. G1, Abb. 32,35 (Bibl.).

⁶⁹ *The Sons of Hephaistos*, Kapitel III.

⁷⁰ Zusammenfassend: Stibbe 2000, passim.

⁷¹ Rolley 1982, passim.

⁷² Vgl. W. Gauer, *AM* 99 (1984) 52: 'In Olympia haben wir – das ist in der Toreutik fast die Regel – nur die Prototypen kennengelernt. Einmal mehr hat sich dabei gezeigt, dass die erfindungsreiche lakonische Toreutik des 7. und 6. Jahrhunderts und dass das Heiligtum von Olympia eine führende Position einnimmt.' Einen – wiederum unvollständigen – Eindruck von den lakonischen Bronzefunden in Olympia vermitteln die Museums- und Fundortregister bei Herfort-Koch 1986, 138 und 144.

⁷³ Dazu Stibbe, *Das andere Sparta*, 144f.

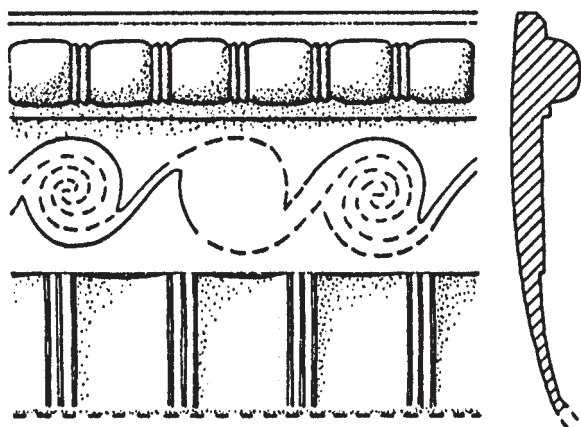


Abb. 9. Olympia, Museum B 6184, Fragment des Fußes eines Bronzekraters.



Abb. 10. Olympia, Museum ohne Nr., Bruchstück eines Bronzekeßels.

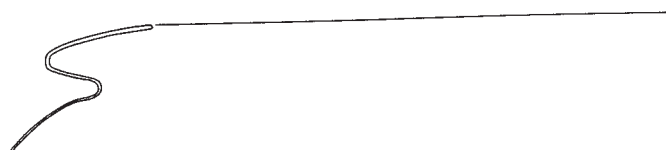


Abb. 11. Olympia, Museum B 5148, Bruchstück eines Bronzekeßels.

Das Bruchstück eines Kraterfußes (Abb. 9) ergibt für den Fuß einen Durchmesser von ca. 45 cm.⁷⁴ Wie beim Krater von Vix erkennt man am oberen Abschluss einen kräftigen Perlstab auf schmaler Leiste. Es folgt, anders als dort, ein glattes Band mit Silberauflage und Spuren einer fortlaufenden Spirale. Unten wölbte sich der Fuß, wie dort, mit einem plastisch modellierten Zungenblattkranz nach vorne. Die Blätter sind konkav.⁷⁵ Das Fragment wird von Werner Gauer mit dem Krater von Vix verglichen: 'Die Präzision und Spannkraft der meisterlich gearbeiteten Ornamente lassen an ein etwas älteres Werk der gleichen Werkstatt denken (der Fuß des Kraters von Vix hat die entwickelte Glockenform).'⁷⁶

Zwei Bruchstücke vom Rand eines Kessels mit beweglichen Griffen (Abb. 10) erinnern an den Kessel von Hochdorf, da der Durchmesser des Randes auf ca. 110-120 cm veranschlagt wird.⁷⁷ Die Inschrift auf dem Rande bezeugt, dass der Kessel ein offizielles Geschenk Spartas war: 'Die Spartiaten weihten ihn dem Zeus.'⁷⁸ Die Inschrift ermöglicht es, den Kessel ins frühe 6. Jahrhundert zu datieren.⁷⁹ Für uns ist vor allen Dingen bedeutsam, dass die Spartaner solche Riesengefäße schon zu Anfang des 6. Jahrhunderts produzierten und exportierten. Von einem weiteren 'Lakonier-Kessel' haben sich

auch figürliche Reste erhalten.⁸⁰ Es handelt sich um ein plattgedrücktes Fragment von Rand und Schulter (L. 55 cm, Abb. 11). Die Krümmung des Randes entspricht sehr genau der Krümmung der Plinthen

⁷⁴ Olympia, Museum B 6184. H. 5,8, Br. 8,15. Gauer 1991, 254, Nr. M 20.

⁷⁵ Gauer 1991, 87 schreibt: '...von der Größe des Kraters von Vix'. Das erscheint übertrieben: der untere Durchmesser des Fußes des Kraters von Vix beträgt 74 cm. Siehe Joffroy 1954, Annexe I.

⁷⁶ Gauer 1991, 87. Mit Gauers Datierung 'Spätarchaisch I', d.h. letztes Drittel des 6. Jahrhunderts bin ich keineswegs einverstanden. Da ich den Krater von Vix um 570-560 ansetze, dürfte das Fragment M 20 um 570 oder etwas früher entstanden sein. Gauer 91, 93 Anm. 232 datiert die 'Dame de Vix' 540-530 und damit wohl auch den ganzen Krater. Auch bei ihm sollte das Fragment M 20 demnach hinaufrücken und zwar mindestens in das Jahrzehnt 550-540. Es gibt einige Füße ähnlicher Form von schwarzfigurigen Volutenkratern aus Ton, die meine Datierung des Fragments um oder vor 570 bestätigen: LBP1, Taf. 3, Abb. 10 (um 560-555) und Stibbe 1997b, 53f. Nr. 4, Taf. 2, 15; Abb. 2 (um 570-560).

⁷⁷ Gauer 1991, 179 Nr. Le 12, Taf. 6, Abb. 6,5. Der Kessel von Hochdorf hat einen Durchmesser von 104 cm. Siehe Gauer 1985, 150 Nr. 33 und S. 125ff.

⁷⁸ Jeffery 1990, 199 Nr. 10.

⁷⁹ Gauer 1991, 25.

⁸⁰ Olympia, Museum B 5148. Gauer 1991, 180 Nr. Le 19, Abb. 7, 4.

zweier lakonischer Statuetten. Die Zusammengehörigkeit kann als gesichert gelten. Die eine Statuette stellt einen schreitenden Greis dar (H. 13.9 cm),⁸¹ die andere einen schreitenden Schwerträger (H. 14.3 cm).⁸² Die Deutung dieser Figuren ist nicht einfach, aber ihren lakonischen Ursprung hat man sofort erkannt.⁸³ Der Kessel mitsamt seinen Figuren dürfte um 570 zu datieren sein.⁸⁴

Man hat noch zwei weitere Figuren, zwei fast identisch ausgeführte Hopliten, mit unserem Kessel in Verbindung gebracht.⁸⁵ Diese Hopliten passen nach Größe (H. 16 cm, ohne Füße, mit Helmbusch) sowie nach der kargen Modellierung, dem Bewegungsmotiv und manchen Details gut zu den beiden anderen Statuetten.⁸⁶ Wahrscheinlich ist, dass die beiden Hopliten nicht auf dem Kessel,⁸⁷ sondern am zugehörigen Stabdreifuß montiert waren. Stilistisch vertreten die beiden Hopliten eine Entwicklungsstufe des lakonischen Hoplitenbildes, die der der Hopliten am Halse des Kraters von Vix vorangeht.⁸⁸

Es gibt weitere Gruppen lakonischer oder lakonisch beeinflusster Kesselrand- oder Stabdreifußfiguren aus Olympia, wie Symposiasten, Silenen und Löwen, sie tragen jedoch zum hier erörterten Thema nichts bei.⁸⁹

Wichtig dagegen ist noch ein großes Fragment eines Stabdreifußes in Form einer Löwenklaue aus Olympia, das 'mit lakonischen Bronzekratern vom Typus des berühmten Kraters von Vix' in Verbindung gebracht wurde.⁹⁰ Der Löwenfuß ist 24 cm hoch (einschließlich der Eisenreste der Verstrebungen) und muss deswegen zu einem monumentalen Dreifuß (wie die Dreifuße des Gitiadas in Amyklai) gehören.⁹¹ Nicht nur die hohe Qualität der dreimal zurückkehrenden Ornamentgruppen, die wir schon oben am Fragment eines Kraterfußes beobachtet haben (Perlstab, Zungenblattkranz, dazu zweimal eine Art von Lanzettblattstab), sondern auch die geschmeidige Wiedergabe der Löwenklaue selbst erinnern an den Stil des Vix-Kraters. Eine Zuschreibung an die Werkstatt des Meisters des Kraters von Vix liegt auf der Hand.⁹²

Wir kommen nun zu den lakonischen Bronzhydrien, die in relativ großer Zahl in Olympia gefunden wurden.⁹³ Ein Exemplar, der Henkel B 5262, soll uns hier besonders beschäftigen, da es eine Brücke zu der bekannten Gruppe der Bronzhydrien aus Paestum und Sala Consilina schlägt. Es führt von ihm aber auch eine Linie zum Palladion aus Tegea, das wir oben besprochen haben. Diese Verbindungen, die weiter unten detailliert erörtert werden sollen, führen uns auch in die Nähe des Kraters von Vix, der wiederum mit den Hydrien der Paestum-Sala Consilina Gruppe stilistisch eine Einheit bildet.

Damit sind wir an das Ende unseres kurzen Überblicks über die lakonischen Bronzen aus

Olympia, die mit dem Meister des Kraters von Vix oder seiner Werkstatt in Beziehung gesetzt werden können, gelangt. Es handelt sich also um folgende, fragmentarisch erhaltenen Werke:

1. Ein Volutenkrater vom Ausmaß und von der Qualität des Kraters von Vix (Inv. Nr. B 6184).
2. Ein Stabdreifuß ungewöhnlichen Ausmaßes und ungewöhnlicher Qualität (Inv. Nr. B 6101).
3. Eine Hydria, die zu der Gruppe der Hydrien aus Paestum und Sala Consilina gehört (Inv. Nr. B 5262).

Diese wichtige, wenn auch zahlenmäßig beschränkte Ernte⁹⁴ zeigt zur Genüge, dass die Werkstatt des Meisters von Vix tatsächlich in Olympia vertreten ist, wie zu erwarten wäre, wenn diese Werkstatt in Sparta angesiedelt war und von dort aus operierte.

⁸¹ Olympia, Museum B 5000. Herfort-Koch 1986, 28ff., 115f., Nr. K 130, Taf. 17, 4-6 (Bibl.). Gauer 1991, 187, Nr. Le 54.

⁸² Olympia, Museum B 25. Herfort-Koch 1986, 28, 115, Nr. K 129. Gauer 1991, 187 Nr. Le 55.

⁸³ E. Kunze, in: OB VII (1961) 171ff. H.-V. Herrmann, *Funde aus Olympia*, 129f. Nr. 89-90.

⁸⁴ Herfort-Koch 1986 datiert 560-550, Gauer 1991 ca. 550. Siehe jedoch weiter unten.

⁸⁵ Olympia, Museum B 6800. Herfort-Koch 1986, 33f., 115 Nr. K 127. Gauer 1991, 235 Nr. S 94, Taf. 70, 71, 1 und Athen, National Archäologisches Museum 2633. Herfort-Koch 1986, 33f. 115 Nr. K 128. Gauer 1991, 236 Nr. S 95, Taf. 71, 2-3.

⁸⁶ H.-V. Herrmann, a.a.O. (oben Anm. 83).

⁸⁷ So, nicht überzeugend, Gauer 1991, 130.

⁸⁸ Stibbe 1995, passim, besonders 78. S. auch weiter unten, Abschnitt IV.

⁸⁹ Symposiasten: Gauer 1991, 187 Le 56 und Le 57. Silene: Gauer 1991, 255, M 29-M 31 ('korinthisch', s. aber Herfort-Koch 1986, 119 Nr. K147-K149). Löwen: Gauer 1991, 188 Nr. Le 60-Le 62.

⁹⁰ Olympia, Museum B 6101. H. 24.0 cm. H.-V. Herrmann, a.a.O. (oben Anm. 83) 73f., Taf. 40. Vergleichbar sind: eine mächtige Löwenpranke aus Delphi, allerdings von anderer Qualität (*BCH* 97, 1973, 515ff., Abb. 21, 22) und ein Löwenfuß mit dem Oberkörper einer geflügelten Gorgo in Dodona (*JbBerlMus* 23, 1981, 28, Abb. 25), beide nicht zu Stabdreifußen gehörend.

⁹¹ Vgl. Gauer, *AM* 99 (1984), 45.

⁹² So H.-V. Herrmann, *OF* XI, 207ff. Auch Gauer 1991, 154, Anm. 502.

⁹³ Gauer 1991, 258 Nr. Hy 12; 259 Nr. Hy 13, Hy 17; 260 Nr. Hy 18, Hy 21, Hy 22; 261 Nr. Hy 33; 262 Nr. Hy 35-Hy 39. Zum Henkel Olympia B 5262 (= Nr. Hy 14) s. weiter unten, Abschnitt III.

⁹⁴ Gauer 1991, 40 rückt noch eine 'besonders elegante Attasche' (bei ihm Nr. Le 101, Taf. 22, 3) 'in die Nähe des Kraters von Vix': 'Die Spulen haben die gleiche Präzision der Form, die Perlkränze, die sich noch weiter vom Grund lösen, und die Bänder strahlen die gleiche Brillanz aus wie der Schmuck der Volutenhenkel des Prunkkraters. In derartigen Produkten erreicht die archaische lakonische Toreutik ihren Gipfel.' Schließlich setzt er (S. 154, Anm. 502) einen Schlangenkopf (Inv. Nr. S 73; dazu *OF* XI, 187, 200, Taf. 87, 4) in Beziehung zum Vix-Krater: 'Die Stabdreifußprotome S 73 ist der Henkelprotome des Kraters von Vix so ähnlich, dass man von einer Werkstattidentität sprechen möchte.' Zu den Schlangenköpfen am Krater von Vix s. auch unten, Abschnitt IV.

III. DIE GRUPPE DER HYDRIEN AUS PAESTUM UND SALA CONSILINA

Der oben erwähnte Henkel einer Hydria B 5262 aus Olympia ist stark zerfressen.⁹⁵ Vorzüglich erhalten sind nur die Palmette am unteren Ende und ein Widder rechts von ihr. Von dem Frauenkopf sind die linke Gesichtshälfte mit Auge und Mund sowie das Haar auf der linken Schläfe und die auf die Brust herabhängenden Strähnen mehr oder weniger intakt. Von dem liegenden Löwen rechts oben haben sich Kopf, Vorderkörper und Pranken leidlich gut erhalten. Eine Perlleiste auf dem Griffbügel und ein Zungenmuster oben kann man noch erkennen. So auch die geriefelte Kragenmähne und die Flammenlocken der Nackenmähne der Löwen.⁹⁶

Der Henkel weist, trotz aller Beschädigungen, deutlich die Merkmale auf, die zur Gruppe der Hydrien aus Paestum und Sala Consilina gehören. Diese Gruppe ist des öfteren und eingehend besprochen worden, sodass eine neue systematische Erörterung sich erübrigt.⁹⁷ Hier soll nur auf einige, für unser Thema wichtige Aspekte eingegangen werden.

Stilistisch lässt sich dem Henkel B 5262 noch etwas abgewinnen, wenn man den gut erhaltenen Widder betrachtet:⁹⁸ das kugelige Auge ist von einem breiten oberen und einem ein wenig schmaleren unteren Lid eingeschlossen; die Lider vereinigen sich in einem scharfen Winkel oder Tränensack, der ausgehöhlt ist. Dieser Augentypus stellt eine unmittelbare Verbindung zu den Augen der Frauenprotomen an den Henkeln der Hydrien aus Paestum und Sala Consilina und zur 'Dame de Vix' her.⁹⁹ Andererseits führt er, wie oben beschrieben, zum Palladion von Tegea.

Ferner sei hier noch auf das Herz der Palmetten aufmerksam gemacht, das nach unten eckig ausläuft. Dieses Detail kehrt an einer ebenfalls im griechischen Mutterland, in Eretria, zu Tage gekommenen Hydria zurück, die zur Gruppe der Paestum-Sala Consilina-Hydrien gehört.¹⁰⁰ Das eckige Herz findet sich zum dritten Mal in der Palmette der Hydria aus Sala Consilina selbst.¹⁰¹ Die drei Hydrien heben sich auch von den übrigen der Gruppe ab, da die Widder nicht ein in einfache Rauten, sondern in Prismen aufgeteiltes Flies aufweisen. Bei den Hydrien aus Eretria und Sala Consilina sind die Prismen glatt belassen, bei Olympia B 5262 hingegen gekerbt wiedergegeben.

Dürfen wir diese Abweichungen von der Regel innerhalb der Gruppe als eine Folge früheren Entstehens werten? Darauf würde die Körperform der am besten erhaltenen Hydria, aus Sala Consilina, hinweisen: sie ist ein wenig schwerfälliger, bauchiger, gerundeter als die Hydrien aus Paestum.¹⁰² Es fällt auf, dass die beiden Hydrienhenkel, die mit Sicher-

heit aus dem griechischen Mutterland stammen (Olympia und Eretria),¹⁰³ das wahrscheinlich ältere, eckige Palmettenherz aufweisen.¹⁰⁴ Diese Tatsache bildet ein zusätzliches Argument für den mutterländisch-griechischen Ursprung der ganzen Gruppe. Die drei Hydrien dürften kurz vor der Reihe aus Paestum entstanden sein, d.h. in den Jahren 560-555.¹⁰⁵

Die besondere stilistische Nähe der Hydrien der Gruppe Paestum-Sala Consilina zum Krater von Vix ist oft betont worden.¹⁰⁶ Sie gründet sich zunächst auf eine ähnlich hohe Qualität der Ausführung, dann aber auch auf wenige, aber wichtige Details. Die Gesichtszüge der 'Dame de Vix' stimmen, wie oben bereits erwähnt,¹⁰⁷ recht genau mit denen der Frauenprotomen an den Hydrien überein. Dass dabei eine größere stilistische Nähe zwischen der 'Dame' und der Protome der Hydria aus Sala Consilina als zwischen ihr und den Hydrien aus Paestum besteht, dürfte chronologisch zu erklären sein: Da wir den Krater von Vix um 570-560 datieren, ist die Hydria aus Sala Consilina, die wir oben um 560-550 angesetzt haben, ihm chronologisch am nächsten.

Ein weiteres Detail betrifft die Palmetten an den Henkeln des Deckels des Kraters, die denen unter den Frauenprotomen an den Hydrien ähneln.¹⁰⁸

⁹⁵ Gauer 1991, Taf. 1, 4; 74, 3.6; 87, 3. Es werden hier übrigens nur die Hydrien des 'kanonischen' Typus in Betracht gezogen, d.h. dass unter den Hydrien aus dem Hypogaeum von Paestum nur die von Rolley 1982, 17ff. als Nr. 1-6 publizierten, nicht aber jene 'à lèvre fondue à part' (a.a.O. 21ff. Nr. 7-9) besprochen werden (die zu unserem Thema nichts hergeben).

⁹⁶ Die Beschreibung basiert auf dem Katalogeintrag bei Gauer 1991, 259 Nr. Hy 14. Dort auch bibliographische Hinweise.

⁹⁷ L. Politis, *AEphem* 1936, 149ff. Rolley 1982, 29ff. Gauer 1991, 93ff. Stibbe 1992, 16ff. (Group F), mit weiterer Literatur. Im Ganzen sind der Gruppe jetzt zehn Hydrien zuzuordnen: Stibbe 1992, 55: Nr. F1-F10.

⁹⁸ Gauer 1991, Taf. 1, 4.

⁹⁹ Vgl. Rolley 1992, Taf. XXVIII, Abb. 133.

¹⁰⁰ Athen, National Archäologisches Museum 15137. Politis, a.a.O. (oben Anm. 97) 147ff., Abb. 1, Taf. 1. Rolley 1982, 16, 31 etc. Taf. XXXI, Abb. 145.

¹⁰¹ Rolley 1982, Taf. XI, Abb. 44. Eine Farabbildung bei Vokotopoulou 1997, 116 Abb. 104.

¹⁰² Rolley 1982, Taf. I, Abb. 1-4 und Taf. VIII, Abb. 29-32.

¹⁰³ Ein zur Paestum-Sala Consilina-Gruppe gehörender Henkel in Heidelberg (Stibbe 1992, 21 Abb. 28, 55 Nr. F8) stammt angeblich ebenfalls aus Griechenland.

¹⁰⁴ Dazu gesellt sich noch eine Hydria, angeblich aus Sizilien, in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 67.11.7; Stibbe 1992, 15, 54 Nr. D3, Fig. 21; hier sind die Widder noch nicht an die Stelle der Halbspulen getreten und auch sonst gibt es Argumente, das Stück vor der Paestum-Sala Consilina-Reihe anzusetzen.

¹⁰⁵ Zur Datierung der ganzen Gruppe s. Stibbe 1992, 19.

¹⁰⁶ Siehe Rolley 1982, 16, 57.

¹⁰⁷ Anm. 63.

¹⁰⁸ Man vergleiche die Fotos bei Rolley 1982, Abb. 41-44 (Palmetten der Hydrien) und 168 (Palmetten des Kraters). Letztere sind vollständiger zu sehen bei Joffroy 1954, Taf. XVI, 2. Dabei

Allerdings gibt es auch hier einen geringen, aber wichtigen Unterschied. Die Palmetten des Kraters haben zwar eine zugespitzte und gerippte Blätterform wie die Hydrien, aber ihre Zahl weicht ab: es gibt zehn statt neun. Diese sind nicht in einem spitz-ovalen Umriss mit Betonung des Mittelblattes angeordnet wie bei den Hydrien, sondern in einem halbkreisförmigen Umriss. Auch sind die Voluten sowie das Herz anders gestaltet: sie haben nicht eine abgeflachte Form wie bei den Hydrien, sondern sind konvex gerundet. Wie ich anderswo gezeigt habe, ist dieser Unterschied zwischen den beiden verwandten Palmettentypen einem chronologischen Abstand zuzuschreiben: die Palmetten des Kraters gehören zu einer älteren Entwicklungsstufe, die sich um 570-560 festlegen lässt.¹⁰⁹

Zu zwei Standpunkten hinsichtlich der Paestum-Sala Consilina Gruppe, die der einfachen, hier vorgeschlagenen Lösung widersprechen, nämlich dass die ganze Gruppe in Sparta um 560-545 hergestellt und von dort nach Süditalien exportiert wurde, soll im Folgenden Stellung bezogen werden.

Werner Gauer erklärt die oben erörterten Qualitätsunterschiede zwischen der Hydria aus Sala Consilina und den Hydrien aus Paestum nicht als Folge eines zeitlichen Abstandes im Werk ein und desselben Meisters, wie hier geschehen, sondern als die Produkte unterschiedlich begabter Künstler. Er vermutet, dass die Hydria aus Sala Consilina das Werk 'eines jener weltläufigen wandernder Lakonier' sei, 'der zu guter Letzt in Italien sesshaft geworden ist'. Dagegen seien die drei Hydrien aus Paestum nur 'Derivate' aus einer italischen Werkstatt, deren Standort er in Paestum vermutet.¹¹⁰

Das Phänomen wandernder Künstler, also auch von Toreuten, ist für das 6. Jahrhundert an und für sich keineswegs auszuschließen, man möchte aber gerne wissen, warum ein bestimmtes Werk, wie hier die Hydria aus Sala Consilina, ausgerechnet von einem solchen Wandersmann hergestellt und nicht einfach importiert sein sollte. Da braucht es doch stärkerer Argumente als nur stilistische Eindrücke.¹¹¹

Noch komplizierter ist die Konstruktion, die Claude Rolley sich ausdachte. Nach ihm wurden die Hydrien aus Sala Consilina und Paestum und außerdem noch alle übrigen Bronzegefäße aus dem Hypogaeum mit- samt dem Krater von Vix in einer Werkstatt in Sybaris hergestellt. Diese Werkstatt musste 510 schließen, als Sybaris zerstört wurde. Die Bronzegefäße aus dem Hypogaeum seien noch rechtzeitig vor der Zerstörung von geflüchteten Sybariten nach Paestum/Poseidonia geschafft worden.¹¹² Das einzige archäologische Argument, das für diese Hypothese spricht, stellen zwei durch Verbrennung zur Hälfte zerstörte Fragmente zweier Seitenhenkel bronzener Hydrien dar, deren Verzierung mit der der Seitenhenkel an den

Hydrien aus dem Hypogaeum von Paestum vergleichbar ist.¹¹³ Diese kamen in einem Athena-Heiligtum außerhalb von Sybaris zum Vorschein.¹¹⁴

Niemand wird leugnen wollen, dass das Hypogaeum um 510, also zur Zeit der Zerstörung von Sybaris, gebaut wurde, da sich eine attische schwarzfigurige Amphora aus dem Kontext genau in jene Zeit datieren lässt.¹¹⁵ Das heißt aber noch keineswegs, dass die mitgefundenen Bronzegefäße kurz vorher in Sybaris hergestellt sein müssen. Das Datum 510 ist für sie nur ein terminus ante quem. Die Fragmente der Bronzehenkel beweisen überdies keineswegs, dass es in Sybaris jemals eine bedeutende Bronzeindustrie gegeben hat, die fähig gewesen wäre, Gefäße wie den Krater von Vix hervorzubringen. Im Gegenteil, sie reichen gerade zur Vermutung aus, dass es eine an den Überseehandel angeschlossene Handelsstraße von Sybaris nach Paestum gegeben hat.

Rolley und leider auch Gauer haben sich für die traditionelle Spätdatierung (530-510) des hier besprochenen Komplexes der Bronzegefäße entschieden. Sie beruht in der Hauptsache auf der falschen Voraussetzung, dass diese Gefäße nicht lange vor ihrer Beisetzung in einem Grab (wie auch in Sala Consilina) oder in einem Hypogaeum-Heroon (wie in Paestum) hergestellt wurden.¹¹⁶ Auf die diesbezüglichen chronologischen Probleme soll unten, im Abschnitt V, näher eingegangen werden. Hier sei nur noch im Allgemeinen bemerkt, dass die Frauenprotomen an den Henkeln der Hydrien aus Paestum und Sala Consilina eine solche Spätdatierung nicht vertragen, da sie unmittelbar an die Frauenprotomen der lakonischen Telestas-Gruppe anschließen. Da die jüngsten Exemplare jener Gruppe in den Anfang des zweiten Viertels des 6. Jahrhunderts datiert werden

fällt auf, dass sogar die zwei Palmetten an einem Henkel (geringe) Unterschiede aufweisen: dazu Stibbe 1997a, 42 (Nr. 60).

¹⁰⁹ Stibbe 1997a: 42 (Group IV B), 56 Nr. 60, Abb. 3.

¹¹⁰ Gauer 1991, 104.

¹¹¹ Zumal wenn diese Eindrücke auf Fotos beruhen, die recht irreführend sein können. (Gauer hat, wie er selbst angibt, die sehr ungleichen Fotos bei Rolley 1982, Taf. XXVIII, zum Ausgangspunkt seiner Analyse genommen.) Eine bessere Begründung wäre z.B., wenn man eine einheimische Gefäßform in griechischem Gewand, wie die der Stamnoi von Lipari (dazu Stibbe 1984, passim), anführen könnte.

¹¹² Rolley 1982, 70.

¹¹³ Rolley 1982, 70-71 mit Abb. 39, 40 und 75.

¹¹⁴ M.W. Stoop, *BABesch* 55 (1980) 167 Nr. 4, Abb. 13; 168 Nr. 5, Abb. 14a. Rolley 1982, 54f.

¹¹⁵ D. von Bothmer, *Gnomon* 37 (1965) 600.

¹¹⁶ In einer Nekropole bei Pydna sind neuerdings zwei bronzene Hydrien aus dem 6. Jahrhundert in einem Kontext aus dem 4. Jahrhundert v.Chr. zum Vorschein gekommen. Die Gefäße waren also zweihundert Jahre in Gebrauch, bevor sie beige- setzt wurden. Dazu unten Anm. 309.

können,¹¹⁷ ergäbe sich zwischen den beiden Gruppen ein unmöglicher zeitlicher Abstand von etwa 30 Jahren. Die Datierung der Telestas-Gruppe ist durch Grabfunde unverrückbar in das frühe 6. Jahrhundert festgelegt.¹¹⁸ Man ist also gezwungen, die traditionelle Spätdatierung aufzugeben und die ganze Gruppe der Hydrien der Paestum-Sala Consilina Gruppe um zwanzig Jahre, bis um die Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts, hinaufzurücken.

Unsere Betrachtungen haben sich bisher auf die Hydrien beschränkt, die mit einer Frauenprotome zwischen Widdern am unteren Ansatz des Vertikalhenkels verziert sind. Dabei spielten die Hydrien aus Sala Consilina und Paestum eine Hauptrolle, im Grunde nur weil sie zufällig am besten erhalten sind. Das Hypogaeum in Paestum hat uns aber noch weitere Bronzegefäße geschenkt, die wir ergänzend betrachten wollen, da sie von großem Nutzen für unser Thema sind.

Eine Hydria mit Löwenhenkel

Das eindruckvollste Exemplar ist eine Hydria, deren Vertikalhenkel durch einen sich aufbäumenden Löwen ersetzt wurde.¹¹⁹ Das wunderbar erhaltene Meisterwerk gehört in die Reihe der lakonischen Hydrien, an denen der Vertikalhenkel ganz oder teilweise den Charakter eines Schaustückes angenommen hat.¹²⁰ Zu dem Löwenhenkel stellt neuerdings eine gut erhaltene Hydria aus einem Grab in Pydna eine Parallele dar.¹²¹ Sie lässt sich mit Hinblick auf ihre Körperform, ihre Ornamentik und auch auf ein Gorgoneion, das sich anstelle einer Palmette am unteren Ansatz befindet, gut datieren: um 590-580.¹²² Form und Verzierung der Hydria aus Paestum sind fortgeschrittener,¹²³ aber Einzelheiten, wie die Randverzierung mit einem Metopenband und die gerundete Schulter, haben sie gemeinsam.¹²⁴ Der zeitliche Abstand zwischen den beiden Hydrien kann also nicht allzu groß sein. Die Hydria aus Paestum wurde schon früher auf Grund anderer Argumente um 570-560 datiert¹²⁵ – ein Ansatz, der nunmehr bestätigt werden kann. Damit rückt die Hydria aus Paestum in die zeitliche Nähe des Kraters von Vix. Ihre stilistische Zugehörigkeit zum Werk des Meisters des Vix-Kraters, die vor allem aus dem Stil des Löwen hervorgeht, ist längst festgestellt worden.¹²⁶

Eine Hydria mit Löwenprotome

Das merkwürdigste Exemplar aus dem Ensemble der Bronzhydrien von Paestum zeichnet sich durch einen erregenden, sozusagen 'unmöglichen' Mischstil aus.¹²⁷ Er setzt sich aus folgenden Einzelteilen zusammen:

1. Technik. Körper und Hals sind gegossen, anstatt

wie üblich gehämmert. Diese Technik war normalerweise für die kleineren Oinochoen aus Bronze reserviert. Bei Hydrien ist sie bisher nur noch einmal, bei einem Exemplar aus Ugento, festgestellt worden, das eine ähnliche Henkelform mit einer Löwenprotome zwischen Rotellen und einem ähnlich konkaven Hals aufweist.¹²⁸ Diese Hydria ist von seinem Entdecker als korinthisch erkannt und ins zweite Viertel des 6. Jahrhunderts datiert worden.¹²⁹

2. Die Form. Die Form des Körpers weicht in allen Teilen von der einer normalen Hydria ab: der Hals ist konkav statt mehr oder weniger gerade, Schulter und Körper gerundet statt gestreckt-oval mit geknickter Schulter, der Fuß sehr hoch.¹³⁰ Diese Form ist ebenfalls von Oinochoen übernommen.¹³¹ Unter Hydrien ist sie noch einmal vertreten durch ein Exemplar aus Trikala, das allgemein als korinthisch anerkannt und recht spät (540-530) datiert worden ist.¹³²

3. Die Verzierung. Ausgefallen ist die Verzierung des oberen Henkelansatzes mit einer Löwenprotome zwischen Rotellen und der Schulter mit einem Fries hängender Zungen. Beides ist aber

¹¹⁷ So eine Hydria aus Gela, die u.a. auf Grund ihrer Körperform in den Anfang des zweiten Viertels des 6. Jahrhunderts datiert wurde (Stibbe 1992, 13 Nr. C7, 54; Pelagatti, in Pelagatti/Stibbe 1992, Farb-Taf. XIX b) und einige Übergangsexemplare, die eine Frauenprotome schon mit einer Palmette (ohne Widder) kombinieren: eine Hydria in Berlin (datiert 580-570); dazu noch ein Henkel in Olympia (datiert 560-555) sowie eine fragmentarische Hydria in New York (datiert 560-555). Alle drei gehören zur Gruppe D in Stibbe 1992, 14f., 54f.: D1, D2, D3.

¹¹⁸ Dazu unten, Abschnitt V, mit Anm. 316 und 317 (zu den Grabfunden aus S. Maria Capua Vetere).

¹¹⁹ Rolley 1982, 19 Nr. 5 und passim. Ein Farbfoto findet sich im Katalog *The Western Greeks* (1996) 371.

¹²⁰ Stibbe 1992, 20ff., Group G.

¹²¹ Vokotopoulou 1997, 117-119, Farb-Abb. 105-108.

¹²² Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, Kapitel IV, 103-111.

¹²³ Die Seitenhenkel sind bei der Hydria aus Pydna noch gerundet und unverziert, wie bei den ältesten Hydrien, bei der Hydria aus Paestum aber schon flach und mit einem Perlband verziert; der Fuß der Hydria aus Pydna ist flach und unverziert, bei der Hydria aus Paestum aber höher und mit einfachen Zungen ausgestattet.

¹²⁴ S. auch *The Sons of Hephaistos*, Kapitel I, 5.

¹²⁵ Stibbe 1992, 29f. Nr. Gll. Ders. 1997, 40, 53 Nr. 25.

¹²⁶ Rolley 1982, 49ff.

¹²⁷ Rolley 1982, 20 Nr. 6, 53ff.

¹²⁸ Rolley 1982, 25f., Abb. 113-118. Stibbe 1992, 10, 33 Nr. B8.

¹²⁹ F.G. Lo Porto, *AttiMGrecia* N.S. XI-XII (1970/1) 116f., Taf. 45.

¹³⁰ Man vergleiche die Form der ungefähr gleichzeitigen Hydria der Paestum-Sala Consilina-Gruppe: Rolley 1982, Taf. I, 1-4 und Taf. VII, 1-4.

¹³¹ Dazu weiter unten.

¹³² Rolley 1982, 25, Abb. 112 mit Anm. 17 (Bibl.). Stibbe 1992, 32, 34 mit Anm. 142; von meiner Frühdatierung ebendort S. 35 habe ich Abstand genommen: *The Sons of Hephaistos*, Chapter II, 52 Nr. 24.

die Regel bei Oinochoen.¹³³ Sehr originell muten die Relief-Löwenprotomen der Seitenhenkel an; sie ersetzen die dort üblichen Pferdeprotomen. Ausgefallen sind auch die liegenden Sphingen am unteren Ansatz des Vertikalhenkels und die Verzierung des hohen Fußes. Weniger ungewöhnlich und nützlich für die Datierung ist die siebenblättrige Palmette ebendort: sie legt ein Entstehen um 555 nahe.¹³⁴

Zwei wichtige stilistische Bezüge sollen hier noch erörtert werden. 1. Die Löwenprotome steht den Löwen an der Hydria mit Löwenhenkel und den Löwen an den Volutenhenkeln des Kraters von Vix sehr nahe, wie Rolley und andere schon festgestellt haben.¹³⁵ 2. Die Sphingen am unteren Henkelansatz verraten jedoch eine andere Hand: Zumal der Typus der großen, schwer umrandeten Augen ist von dem der Löwenprotome oben grundverschieden.¹³⁶ Den Augentypus der Sphingen kennen wir von den Gesichtern dreier Kouroi, die als Henkel von drei Oinochoen Verwendung fanden.¹³⁷ Nur eine dieser drei Oinochoen ist vollständig erhalten. Der zugehörige Fuß hat genau die gleiche Form und Verzierung (Perlen, Prismen, Zungenfries) wie unsere Hydria!¹³⁸

Welchen Schluss dürfen wir nun aus den genannten stilistischen Verbindungen ziehen? Eines scheint klar zu sein: Die Bezüge formeller und stilistischer Art zwischen unserer Hydria und Bronzeoinochoen im allgemeinen und den drei erwähnten Exemplaren im besonderen sind augenfällig.¹³⁹ Darüber hinaus lassen diese Bezüge beträchtlichen Raum für Spekulationen. So könnte man fragen, ob der Meister des Vix-Kraters in seiner Werkstatt einen Kollegen oder Gehilfen hatte, der auf Oinochoen spezialisiert war und ob dieser Mann unter Einfluss des Meisters versucht hat, die ihm nicht geläufige Form der Hydria herzustellen. Und hat der Meister in diesem Falle Hand angelegt und die Löwenprotome am oberen Henkelansatz geschaffen, während er den unteren Ansatz mit den Sphingen seinem Gehilfen überließ? Chronologisch spräche nichts gegen eine solche Zusammenarbeit, da die drei Oinochoen mit Kouros-Henkel ungefähr zeitgleich mit der Hydria entstanden sind.¹⁴⁰

Sonstige Vergleichsstücke

Von einem Meister, der den Krater von Vix schuf, und von dessen Werkstatt muss eine starke Wirkung auf einheimisch lakonische und fremde Bronzebildner ausgegangen sein. Tatsächlich ist dieser Einfluss seit etwa der Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts überall wahrnehmbar. In einigen Fällen ist die stilistische Nähe sogar so stark, dass man zweifelt, ob man einem Werk aus der Werkstatt oder vielleicht einem des Meisters selbst gegenübersteht.

Ein Beispiel der letzteren Kategorie ist eine Bronzekanne in Berlin, die in Izmir (Smyrna) erworben wurde und angeblich aus Pergamon stammt.¹⁴¹ Die Löwenprotome am oberen Henkelansatz hat eine Augenpartie und eine Zeichnung von Nase, Ober- und Unterkiefer, die an jene der Löwen des Kraters von Vix und der Hydrien von Paestum erinnern. Es sind aber vor allem die plastisch fein ausgearbeiteten Flammenzotteln der Kragenmähne, die in dieser Art nur dort vorkommen. Allerdings sind die Ohren anders geformt, und auch die flankierenden Löwen haben eigenartige Züge.¹⁴² Trotzdem möchte man die Kanne als ein Produkt zumindest aus der Werkstatt des Meisters ansehen.¹⁴³ Widder und sonstige Einzelheiten¹⁴⁴ stehen einer solchen Zuweisung

¹³³ Dazu Stibbe 1992, 32, wo auch auf die gleiche Schulterverzierung bei Krateren aufmerksam gemacht wird.

¹³⁴ Stibbe 1992, 10 und 1997, 42f., 56 Nr. 64.

¹³⁵ Rolley 1982, 57f.

¹³⁶ So auch Rolley 1982, 54. Tarditi 1996, 191 mit Abb. 53-54 vergleicht unsere Sphingen mit einer Sphinx aus Perachora. Dieser Vergleich scheint mir verfehlt zu sein.

¹³⁷ Es handelt sich um folgende Stücke:

1. Oinochoe mit Kuroshenkel. Jerusalem, Sammlung E. Borowski. FO. Barrafranca (Sizilien). *The Sons of Hephaistos*, Chapter II, 30 Nr. 3, Fig. 18 (Bibl.).

2. Oinochoehenkel in Form eines Kuros. London, British Museum 1824.4-5.6. FO. unbekannt. *The Sons of Hephaistos*, Chapter II, 36 Nr. 8, Abb. 22.

3. Fragmentarischer Oinochoehenkel in Form eines Kuros. Paris, Louvre 2786. FO. Delphi. Weber 1983, 285 Nr. I.D.19; Herfort-Koch 1986, 108 Nr. K 97 (Bibl., zu späte Datierung: 550-540).

¹³⁸ S. Stibbe 1994a, 116 Abb. 1 und *The Sons of Hephaistos*, Chapter II, Nr. 3 und 4. Dazu auch weiter unten. Die Erweiterung der üblichen Verzierung des Fußes (Perlstab und Zungen) um ein Fries von Prismen oder einen Lanzettblattstab findet sich im übrigen auch an anderen Stellen bei Bronzegefäßen und -geräten, wie etwa an dem oben erwähnten Löwenfuß aus Olympia (*Funde aus Olympia*, Taf. 40) und am Rande des Volutenkraters in Belgrad (Joffroy 1979, Abb. 48).

¹³⁹ Die Beziehung zu korinthischen Hydrien hat keine besondere Bedeutung, da die Korinther im allgemeinen nur einem Vorbild, sowohl für ihre Hydrien wie für ihre Kannen, nachfolgen: dem Vorbild der sog. 'rhodischen Kannen'.

¹⁴⁰ S. *The Sons of Hephaistos*, Chapter II, Nr. 8, wo der Henkel (London, British Museum 1824.4-5.6) als der jüngste eingestuft und um 550 datiert worden ist.

¹⁴¹ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Misc 10409. Angeblich aus Pergamon, gekauft in Izmir. Weber 1983, 243 Nr. I.B.5 (Bibl.). Stibbe 1997a, 43, 56 Nr. 66, Abb. 14, 15. Pelagatti-Stibbe 1999, Subgroup 4b.

¹⁴² Wie die kleine Spitze, die zu den Wangen hin ausgebildet ist. Dazu Weber 1983, 53. Wie Weber ebendort bemerkt, sind die Löwen des Kopenhagener Ephebenhenkels und einer Kanne in Basel (bei ihm Nr. I.D. 4 und 7; *The Sons of Hephaistos*, Chapter II, Nr. 2 und 4) eng mit den Löwen der Berliner Kanne verwandt.

¹⁴³ So schon Stibbe 1997a, 43 (Nr. 66).

¹⁴⁴ Weber 1983, 62 verweist auch für die Widder auf eine genaue Übereinstimmung mit den Widdern der Kopenhagener Kanne hin (s. vorige Anm.). Für die Kanneluren des Griffes und die Verzierung des Schaftpolsters vergleicht er ebenda den Kannenhenkel in der Bibliothèque Nationale 1446 (bei ihm Nr. I.B.11).

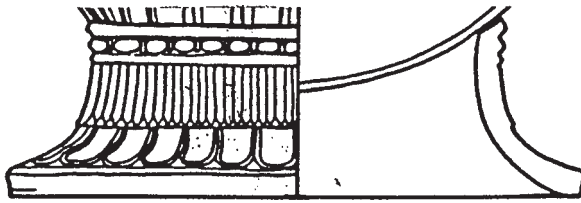


Abb. 12. Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 516, Fuß einer Oinochoe.

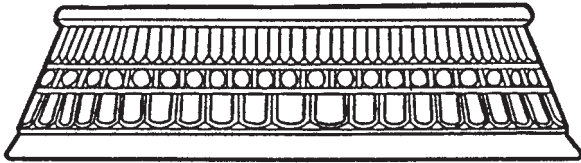


Abb. 13. Taranto, Museo Nazionale 165389, Fuß einer Oinochoe aus Rutigliano.



Abb. 14. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Misc 7268, Henkel einer Oinochoe aus Melana.

nicht im Wege. Der Fundort der Kanne (mit Sicherheit an der Küste Kleinasiens)¹⁴⁵ ist ein weiteres Argument für die Hypothese, dass der Standort der Werkstatt des Meisters sich nicht in Unteritalien, sondern in Griechenland befunden hat: von dort aus hat man nach West und Ost exportiert. Die schon früher vorgeschlagene Datierung vor 555, d.h. noch in die erste Schaffensperiode des Meisters des Kraters von Vix, gründet sich u.a. auch auf den Typus der Palmette.¹⁴⁶

Eine weitere Oinochoe in Berlin, deren Fundort unbekannt ist, vertritt eine etwas jüngere Entwicklungsstufe und nähert sich der 'Massenproduktion', die um 550 einsetzte.¹⁴⁷ Die Widder am unteren Henkelansatz wurden von Schlangen ersetzt. Anstatt der eleganten Flammenzotteln weist die Löwenprotome oben die einfache, schon seit dem 7. Jahrhundert bei lakonischen Löwen übliche¹⁴⁸ radial gekerbte Kragenmähne auf. Sonst aber treffen wir hier wieder die Gesichtszüge der Löwen an, wie wir sie aus der Werkstatt des Meisters des Vix-Kraters an der Löwenprotome kennen. Die flankierenden Löwen hingegen, deren Nackenmähne nicht plastisch geformt, sondern nur eingeritzt ist, weisen in ihrem Typus schon auf die spätere Entwicklung voraus.

Nur die Palmette am unteren Henkelansatz verbietet es, das Stück später als um 555 zu datieren.¹⁴⁹

Als ein in unserem Zusammenhang bedeutendes Gefäß soll hier eine fragmentarische Oinochoe aus Rutigliano erwähnt werden.¹⁵⁰ Chronologisch steht diese Kanne auf der gleichen Stufe wie die vorige (Berlin Fr 600).¹⁵¹ Die Widder sind hier nicht durch Schlangen ersetzt.¹⁵² Die Löwenprotome am oberen

¹⁴⁵ Politis, a.a.O. (oben Anm. 97) 159f. Nr. 1, gründet seine Meinung, dass die Kanne ostgriechisch sei, in der Hauptsache auf den angeblichen Fundort. Sie dürfte heute wohl als überholt gelten.

¹⁴⁶ Stibbe 1997a, 43 mit Anm. 64.

¹⁴⁷ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Fr 600. Weber 1983, 248 Nr. I.B.10. Stibbe 1997a, 41f., 55 Nr. 52, Abb. 8-9.

¹⁴⁸ Stibbe 1994a, 112.

¹⁴⁹ Stibbe 1997a, 42.

¹⁵⁰ Tarditi 1996, 73f. Nr. 143.

¹⁵¹ Die Palmette hat zwar einen länglichen (nicht mehr runden) Umriss, aber sie gehört dennoch zu den (jüngeren) Exemplaren der Gruppe 'Transitional Types' (Stibbe 1997a, 41, Group IV, mit Anm. 42). Falls es sich um eine korinthische Imitation handelt (was man nicht ausschließen kann), wäre auch ein jüngeres Entstehungsdatum möglich.

¹⁵² Tarditi 1996, 192 vergleicht die Widder mit denen an der korinthischen Hydria aus Trikala: sie seien ähnlich geformt, und das Flies sei in beiden Fällen unbearbeitet geblieben. Wenn das stimmt (ihre Abb. 59 lässt kaum ein Urteil zu), dann wäre das



Abb. 15. Derselbe, Innenansicht.

Ansatz stimmt ebenfalls mit der der Oinochoe Berlin Fr 600 überein. Allerdings ist die Kragenmähne nicht radial gekerbt, sondern weist ein fast abstraktes Muster auf, das sich direkt von den Flammenszoteln an der Kragenmähne der Löwenprotome von Berlin Misc 10409 herleiten lässt. Das einfache Schema findet sich ab ca. 550 des öfteren bei Löwen an lakonischen Oinochoen wieder.¹⁵³ Interessant an der Oinochoe aus Rutigliano ist ferner die Verzierung des Fußes (Abb. 13). Sie kann als eine Nachahmung der oben erwähnten Füße aus der Werkstatt des Meisters des Vix-Kraters verstanden werden: das Perlenband ist an einer anderen (der falschen) Stelle, unterhalb des Prismafrieses anstatt darüber, angebracht worden, und die Form ist steif und gerade statt geschwungen, wie z.B. bei der Oinochoe Basel BS 516 (Abb. 12).¹⁵⁴

Ein wichtiges Argument zu Gunsten der Annahme, dass die Werkstatt des Meisters des Vix-Kraters in Sparta oder Lakonien angesiedelt war, bietet ein isolierter Oinochoehenkel in Berlin (Abb. 14-15).¹⁵⁵ Dieser Henkel wurde im Heiligtum des Apollon Tyritas an der Ostküste Lakoniens, beim heutigen Melana, gefunden.¹⁵⁶ Trotz der Korrosion erkennt man die charakteristischen Gesichtszüge der Löwen

aus der Vix-Werkstatt. Alle Teile des Henkels sind von ausgezeichneter Qualität und zeigen eine 'klassische' Ausgewogenheit. Die Palmette am unteren Ansatz ist vom gleichen Typus wie die an den Henkeln des Deckels des Vix-Kraters. Daraus ergibt sich ein zeitlicher Ansatz um 560-555 für den Henkel aus Melana.¹⁵⁷

Es ließen sich hier noch weitere Oinochoen anschließen, die den Einfluss belegen, der von einem Meister wie dem des Vix-Kraters ausgegangen sein muss.¹⁵⁸ Dieser Einfluss lässt sich auch an anderen

allerdings ein überzeugendes Argument für einen korinthischen Ursprung der Oinochoe aus Rutigliano.

¹⁵³ S. *The Sons of Hephaistos*, Chapter II, 36 Nr. 9, Abb. 23; 44 Nr. 13, Abb. 3-7. Bei diesen Oinochoen, die ein wenig später datiert sind, ist auch das eingeritzte Muster der Flammenszoteln an der Nackenmähne schematisiert.

¹⁵⁴ Diese Unterschiede werden von Tarditi 1996, 192 übergangen.

¹⁵⁵ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Misc 7268. Weber 1983, 221 Nr. I.A.17.

¹⁵⁶ Dazu Stibbe, in Pelagatti-Stibbe 1999, 41 (Subgroup 3 c).

¹⁵⁷ Der Henkel ist zwar in Stibbe 1997a nicht aufgeführt, gehört aber eindeutig zur Gruppe IV B (ebenda S. 42f., 56).

¹⁵⁸ So etwa der oben (Anm. 142) bereits erwähnte Kuroshenkel in Kopenhagen und eine fragmentarische Oinochoe aus dem Kunsthandel (Pelagatti-Stibbe 1999, 44, Abb. 23-24).



Abb. 16. München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3482, Spiegel aus Hermione (Argolis).

Bronzeerzeugnissen, wie den typisch lakonischen Spiegelgriffen in Form eines nackten Mädchens, beobachten. Als Beispiel sei hier der vorzüglich erhaltene Spiegel aus Hermione in München herangezogen (Abb. 16).¹⁵⁹ Die Augenpartie stimmt sowohl mit der der Frauenprotomen der Gruppe Paestum-Sala Consilina als auch mit der der Menschen- und Tierfiguren am Krater von Vix überein.¹⁶⁰ Auch die kräftige Nase ist wieder da. Durch den eleganten Polos und die lange, bis auf

das Gesäß herabfallende Haarpartie (säuberlich von einem gekreuzten Haarband umfasst) schließt sich diese Mädchenfigur der oben erwähnten Reihe weiblicher Statuetten aus Lakonien an.¹⁶¹ Auch der Kopf des Löwen, auf dem sie steht, ist typologisch

¹⁵⁹ München, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlungen 3482. FO. Hermione (Argolis). H. der Figur ca. 19 cm. Maass 1979, 14.

¹⁶⁰ Maass 1979, 13.

¹⁶¹ Maass 1979, 15, oben Anm. 19 (Peplophore).

nicht weit von den Löwen der Hydrien aus Paestum entfernt. Sogar die herzförmigen Ohren sind da.¹⁶² Eine Datierung kurz nach 550 wird durch die Palmette an der Rückseite nahegelegt.¹⁶³

IV. DER KRATER VON VIX

Nachdem wir die Lebenszeit des Gitiadas in die erste Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts festgelegt (Abschnitt I) und die Spuren seiner möglichen Tätigkeit in Olympia aufgezeigt haben, wobei wir von der Hypothese ausgingen, dass er der Schöpfer solch eminenter Bronzewerke wie des Kraters von Vix sein könnte (Abschnitt II), und nachdem wir die nach Paestum (Poseidonia) und Sala Consilina exportierten Erzeugnisse seiner Hand und seiner Werkstatt betrachtet und den von ihm und seiner Werkstatt ausgehenden Einfluss skizziert haben (Abschnitt III), ist es nun an der Zeit zu untersuchen, ob und inwiefern 'der Meister des Kraters von Vix' tatsächlich so stark mit Lakonien verbunden ist, dass seine Identifikation mit Gitiadas überhaupt erst möglich und wahrscheinlich erscheint.

Bisher haben wir den Krater von Vix vorwiegend unter dem Aspekt stilistischer Beziehungen zwischen ihm und den herangezogenen Bronzeerzeugnissen betrachtet. Erörtert wurden deshalb: 1. Die Gesichtszüge der Mantelfrau auf dem Deckel des Kraters; 2. Die Löwen an seinen Volutenhenkeln; 3. Die Palmetten an den Griffen seines Deckels. Anschließend an diese Beobachtungen wollen wir nun einige weitere Einzelheiten näher betrachten.

Die Form

Der nach der Form seiner beiden Henkeln benannte Volutenkrater ist in Lakonien und nirgendwo sonst heimisch. Diese Tatsache lässt sich an den vielen lakonischen Kratern aus Ton aufzeigen, die überall im Mittelmeergebiet zum Vorschein kamen.¹⁶⁴ Man unterscheidet heute bei der lakonischen Produktion zwischen Volutenkratern und den sogenannten Bügelhenkelkratern. Letztere weisen eine vereinfachte Version des Volutenhenkels auf: ein Bügel hat die Volute als Bindeglied zwischen Griff und Rand ersetzt. Der aus dem Altertum überlieferte Name 'Krater Lakonikos' dürfte beide Henkelformen einschließen.¹⁶⁵

Die ältesten lakonischen Volutenkrater in Ton stammen aus dem dritten Viertel des 7. Jahrhunderts.¹⁶⁶ Sie wurden in der Werkstatt eines Meisters produziert, der für die damalige Erneuerung und den allgemeinen Aufschwung der lakonischen Keramik (mit)verantwortlich war.¹⁶⁷ Mit seinen Werken setzt der Export lakonischer Gefäße nach Samos und anderen Orten überhaupt erst ein.¹⁶⁸ Am Anfang des

6. Jahrhunderts haben dann auch, soweit wir das heute beurteilen können, die lakonischen Bronzewerkstätten diese Form übernommen.¹⁶⁹

Es wird nunmehr möglich, die stetige Weiterentwicklung der lakonischen Kraterform (ob Voluten- oder Bügelhenkelkrater) durch das ganze 6. Jahrhundert zu verfolgen und die Bronzekrater, von denen sehr viel weniger Exemplare erhalten sind, in diese Entwicklung einzuordnen. Die Körperform des Kraters von Vix (*Abb. 1*) lässt sich deshalb auf eine Stufe mit den Tonkratern aus dem Anfang des zweiten Viertels des 6. Jahrhunderts stellen.¹⁷⁰ Damit haben wir wiederum den Datierungsansatz in das Jahrzehnt 570-560 erreicht, den wir auch schon auf anderem Wege gefunden hatten.¹⁷¹

¹⁶² Maas 1979, 15. Rolley 1992, Taf. XV, Abb. 65.

¹⁶³ Stibbe 1997a, 44 (Group V A, Nr. 70), 60.

¹⁶⁴ Zu den lakonischen Volutenkratern, die in den meisten Fällen schwarzfigurig (nur ausnahmsweise schwarzgefirnt) sind, s. Stibbe, LBP 1, 23ff. Id. 1997b, 47ff. Croissant 1988, 161 stellt fest, dass der Volutenkrater, der ihm zufolge gegen 570 mit der François-Vase in Erscheinung tritt, wahrscheinlich Vorgänger in Metall hatte. Es ist das Verdienst von Hitzl 1982, 62f. den lakonischen Ursprung des Volutenkraters aufgezeigt zu haben. Croissant 1988, 161 Anm. 281 geht dessen Argumente aus dem Wege, wenn er behauptet, dass Hitzl 'n'a guère fait avancer la question'.

¹⁶⁵ Es sei darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass, abgesehen von den Henkeln, alle übrigen Teile dieser lakonischen Tonkrater die gleichen Merkmale von Rand, Hals, Körper und Fuß aufweisen. Es gibt deshalb im Grunde wenig Anlass, zwei Typen zu unterscheiden.

¹⁶⁶ Die Existenz mindestens drei solcher Krater ist heute nachgewiesen. Sie wurden im Heraion von Samos entdeckt: Stibbe 1997b, 48ff. Nr. 1, 2 und 137 Anhang Nr. 4, 10.

¹⁶⁷ Er hat den seit geometrischen Zeiten bekannten Kraterhenkel mit einfachem Verbindungsstück zwischen Henkel und Rand wahrscheinlich als erster zum Volutenkrater ausgebaut, vielleicht unter Einfluss der Volutenhenkelformen der gleichzeitigen Reliefamphoren und Reliefpithoi aus Sparta, Kreta u.s.w. Dazu Stibbe, LBP 1, 65ff.

¹⁶⁸ Man könnte ihn den Löwenmaler nennen, da seine Gefäße des öfteren mit den typischen Löwen in Umrisstechnik verziert sind, die auf den erwähnten Kratern aus Samos (oben Anm. 166), aber auch auf anderen Gefäßformen, wie etwa auf dem Kantharos Samos K 1320 (Stibbe 1997b, 69 Nr. 12, Abb. 12, Taf. 7.1) und auf manchen Gefäßfragmenten aus Sparta (BSA 34, 1933/34, Taf. 26, 27) vorkommen.

¹⁶⁹ Seiner Körperform nach ist der gut erhaltene, bronzene Volutenkrater aus Capua, der von Johannowsky 1974, 3-10 mit Recht lakonisch genannt wird, noch im ersten Viertel des 6. Jahrhunderts entstanden. Dazu Stibbe, LBP 1, 63. Es dürfte hier der (seltene?) Fall vorliegen, dass die Bronzebildner eine Form aus Ton übernommen haben. Hydrien und Oinochoen waren wohl auch zunächst in Ton entwickelt worden, bevor sie in Bronze hergestellt wurden.

¹⁷⁰ Stibbe, LBP 1, 63.

¹⁷¹ S. z.B. Stibbe 1996b, passim. Die Kritik, die Rolley 1958, 170 gegen die Argumente von Rumpf 1957, 128 Anm. 8 in diesem Zusammenhang vorgebracht hat, ist längst überholt, da heute viel mehr Material vorliegt. Der lakonische Volutenkrater ist heute sogar unzweideutig auf dem Innenbild einer lakonischen Schale belegt (*Abb. 17*). Es handelt sich um die Fragmente einer unpublizierten großen Schale aus der Frühzeit des Jagd-



Abb. 17. New York, Privatsammlung Centre Island, zwei Fragmente einer großen lakonischen Schale des Jagd-Malers.

Menschliche Figuren (Abb. 25-30)

Die Mantelfrau auf dem Deckel des Kraters von Vix wurde oben bereits erwähnt und auch sonst ausführlich besprochen.¹⁷² Ihre etwas altertümliche Erscheinung war und ist denjenigen ein Dorn im Auge, die den Krater (zu) spät, d.h. in die zweite Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts, datieren möchten. Der Versuch aber, die Mantelfrau als einen Fremdkörper darzustellen, ist misslungen.¹⁷³ Es bleibt ein Verdienst Claude Rolleys, gezeigt zu haben, dass die Figur unzertrennlich mit den anderen Figuren des Kraters und mit den Frauenprotomen an den Hydrien der Paestum-Sala Consilina-Gruppe verbunden ist.¹⁷⁴ Beweiskraft haben vor allem ihre Gesichtszüge. Diese kehren an den Hoplitens und Wagenlenkern im Halsfries des Kraters, wenn auch in Seitenansicht, zurück (Abb. 26). Hier ist der eigenartige Schnitt der Augen aufschlussreich. Man könnte einwenden, dass es diesen Augentypus von Anfang an und auch später (d.h. nach 570-560) gegeben hat. Dazu lässt sich Folgendes sagen.

Seit dem Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts zeigen lakonische Frauenprotomen eine Überbetonung der Augen, die manchmal gross und rund hervorquellen, und der Lider, die oft dick und sogar quer schraffiert das Auge umrahmen, sowie der Augenbrauen, die meist plastisch hervorgehoben und ebenfalls schraffiert sind.¹⁷⁵ Dieser Stil wird an den Frauenprotomen der Hydrien der Telestas-Gruppe beibehalten, aber feiner ausgearbeitet, indem man die oberen Lider breiter als die unteren und mandelförmiger gestaltet.¹⁷⁶ Daran schliesst der Augentypus des Meisters des Kraters von Vix unmittelbar an. Der Unterschied liegt, wie oben bereits beschrieben, in einer noch feineren Differenzierung der Einzelheiten: Zum ersten Mal wird der Augapfel bewusst vom Augenweiss geschieden und kreisförmig hervorgehoben. Das Augenweiss erscheint als eine Eintiefung in den gewellt und scharf gezogenen Winkeln nach aussen und zur Nase hin. Die Augenlider bilden eine elegante Wölbung um den Augapfel herum. Diese Eigenart lässt sich sowohl bei der Mantelfrau¹⁷⁷ als auch bei den Hoplitens (Abb. 25, 26)¹⁷⁸ und Wagenlenkern beobachten. Am deutlichsten jedoch, weil in grösserem Maßstab bei den Augen der Gorgonen an den Volutenhenkeln (Abb. 35, 36).¹⁷⁹

Mit der raffinierten Ausarbeitung der Augen seiner menschlichen Figuren setzt der Meister des Kraters von Vix einen neuen Maßstab. Fortan folgten die meisten Künstler aus seiner Werkstatt und seiner Nachfolge seinem Beispiel.¹⁸⁰

Die Hoplitens

Nach der Mantelfrau sind es zunächst die Hoplitens und Wagenlenker des Halsfrieses des Kraters, die uns

Aufschluss über die menschlichen Figuren des Meisters geben. Sie wurden bereits mehrfach analysiert, allerdings mit recht unterschiedlichen Ergebnissen.¹⁸¹ Zunächst ist die Kombination an sich schon merkwürdig: sie findet sich in dieser Reihenfolge (jeweils ein Viergespann, dem ein Schwerbewaffneter folgt)¹⁸² nur noch an den lakonischen Reliefamphoren, wo sie zur Verzierung des Bauchfrieses gehört.¹⁸³ Da die lakonischen Reliefamphoren zwischen 620 und 570 datiert werden,¹⁸⁴ liegt die Vermutung auf der Hand, dass der Meister des Vix-Kraters das Thema von dort übernommen hat. Die Reliefamphoren wurden nicht exportiert.¹⁸⁵ Daraus lässt sich wiederum folgern, dass der Meister, der das Thema von dort übernahm, in Sparta oder Lakonien beheimatet war.¹⁸⁶ Die Datierung der Reliefamphoren bringt uns außerdem noch eine willkommene Bestätigung für die unabhängig von ihr ermittelte Entstehungszeit des

Malers (um 565-560) in einer Privatsammlung in New York. Das Stück wird demnächst in einem Supplement zu LV veröffentlicht werden. Ich danke dem Besitzer für die Erlaubnis, die Fragmente zu publizieren.

¹⁷² Stibbe 1996a. Die dort vorgebrachten Argumente für ihre Datierung und landschaftliche Zuweisung, die ihre Gültigkeit für den Verfasser durchaus behalten, sollen hier nicht wiederholt werden. Es sei nur noch darauf hingewiesen, dass um die Mantelfrau herum, auf dem Rande des Deckels, mehrere Figuren befestigt gewesen sind. Von diesen haben sich nur noch die Spuren in Form von Abdrücken und Befestigungslöchern erhalten (gutes Foto bei Rolley 1999, 200, Fig. 2).

¹⁷³ So Herfort-Koch 1986, 72 mit weiteren Angaben.

¹⁷⁴ Rolley 1982, 58, mit Taf. XXVIII. So schon Joffroy 1954, 20.

¹⁷⁵ S. Stibbe 1996a, Taf. 25; 27; 30.5; 33.3; 34.2. Diese Überbetonung ist in Lakonien wahrscheinlich direkt von nahöstlichen Vorbildern übernommen worden (wie a.a.O. Taf. 35.3) und sollte nicht als 'Tarentinisch' missverstanden werden (dazu Stibbe 1995, 76).

¹⁷⁶ Für die Telestas-Gruppe s. Stibbe 1992, 11ff. (Group C) mit Abb. 16-19. Hinzu kommen: ein fragmentarischer Henkel im Museum of Art and Archaeology 87.1, University of Missouri (Columbia): *Muse* 29/30 (1995/6) 51ff. Eine fragmentarische Hydria in S.M. Capua Vetere: Stibbe 2000, 4 Nr. 1, 6ff., Abb. 2, Taf. 4, 5-6; 5, 1-3.

¹⁷⁷ Joffroy 1954, Taf. XVIII. Rolley 1982, Taf. XXVIII.

¹⁷⁸ Vgl. Rolley 1982, Taf. XXXVI, Abb. 170.

¹⁷⁹ Rolley 1982, Taf. XI, Abb. 186. Bei den Augen der Tiere sind zwar die gleichen Merkmale vorhanden, aber es fehlt die elegante Wölbung der Augenlider, das untere Lid ist breiter angelegt; s. Rolley 1982, Taf. XXXIII, Abb. 156 (Löwe), Taf. XXXV, Abb. 179 (Pferde); Joffroy 1954, Taf. XIII, XIV (Pferde).

¹⁸⁰ Eine Ausnahme: der Bronzebildner, der die Hydria Nr. 6 (Rolley 1982, 20) in Paestum und mehrere Oinochoen schuf, wie wir oben gesehen haben.

¹⁸¹ Rumpf 1954, 10. Ders. 1957, 130. Rolley 1982, 60f. Stibbe, *Das andere Sparta*, 139ff.

¹⁸² Zur Reihenfolge s. Joffroy 1954, 18. Rolley 1982, 59 Anm. 133.

¹⁸³ *Das andere Sparta* 147 mit Abb. 76, 77. Schleiffenbaum 1991, 28-31. Vgl. auch Croissant 1988, 151, der spätere Beispiele anführt.

¹⁸⁴ Schleiffenbaum 1991, 28-31.

¹⁸⁵ Schleiffenbaum 1991, 474, Tabelle 2.

¹⁸⁶ Diese naheliegende Folgerung wird von Rolley 1982, 59 und zumal von Croissant 1988, 151 gar nicht in Betracht gezogen.



Abb. 18. Athen, Nationalmuseum 2633, Bronzehoplite aus Olympia.



Abb. 19. Derselbe, Seitenansicht.

Kraters, den wir um 570-560 festgelegt haben.¹⁸⁷ Die Möglichkeit, dass Gitiadas, der im gleichen Jahrzehnt den Tempel der Athena Chalkioikos errichtete, wie wir oben gesehen haben, damals auch für die Herstellung des Kraters von Vix verantwortlich war, gewinnt infolgedessen an Wahrscheinlichkeit.

Es fragt sich nun, ob auch der Stil der Hopliten sich mit diesem zeitlichen Ansatz in Einklang befindet.

Solange ein allgemein anerkanntes chronologisches Gerüst für die Entwicklung des lakonischen Hoplitenbildes im 6. Jahrhundert fehlt, ist man gezwungen, sich selbstständig einen Weg zu suchen. Die älteste Generation der lakonischen Bronze-Hopliten findet man an den Prunkhenkeln der

¹⁸⁷ Dazu Stibbe 1996b und hier passim.

Hydriengruppe Grächwil-Treia. Diese Generation ist geschlossen vorgestellt und in den Anfang des 6. Jahrhunderts (um 600-590) datiert worden. Sie bildet eine zuverlässige Ausgangsposition.¹⁸⁸

Bezeichnend ist eine fast abstrakte Strenge des hageren Körperbaus, sowohl bei den Menschen wie bei den Tieren.¹⁸⁹ Die Köpfe sind im Verhältnis zum Körper gross, die Glieder schematisch unterteilt ohne Modellierung der Muskeln, ausser dem Knie. So auch der Panzer, der einen weit abstehenden unteren Rand und eine kräftige, aber schematische Gliederung der Brustpartie aufweist. Alle Krieger der ersten Generation tragen einen Helm mit hohem Helmbusch. In merkwürdigem Gegensatz zu dieser Strenge steht die spielerische Gravierung auf dem Panzer des Pferdebandigers am Prunkhenkel einer Hydria aus Treia: eine Doppellinie macht um die Brustmuskeln eine Kurve hinauf und läuft in eine kleine Blüte aus.¹⁹⁰

Zwei Hopliten aus Olympia eröffnen die Reihe der zweiten Generation (*Abb. 18, 19*):¹⁹¹ die Körper sind ebenfalls noch schlank, aber freier bewegt. Auf dem Panzer, dessen unterer Rand weniger weit absteht, ist die Brustpartie weniger schematisch modelliert. Der Rippenbogen ist in Form eines umgekehrten V eingeritzt. Wichtig erscheint die Frisur im Nacken: die nicht sehr lange Haarmasse ist in horizontalen Schichten durch Kerbung unterteilt.¹⁹² Diese altmodische Haartracht findet sich im Lakonischen selten und wurde wahrscheinlich von samischen Vorbildern übernommen.¹⁹³ Sie kehrt zurück an zwei lakonischen Statuetten, ebenfalls aus Olympia, die stilistisch auf gleicher Ebene stehen: die eine stellt ein Greis dar, die andere einen Mann mit einem Schwert.¹⁹⁴ Die Datierung dieser vier Figuren ist wichtig für das Verständnis der ganzen Entwicklung der Bronzehopliten und der Bronzestatuetten aus der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts überhaupt. Wie oben (Abschnitt II mit Anm. 89) dargetan, dürfte eine Datierung ans Ende des ersten Viertels des 6. Jahrhunderts gerechtfertigt sein.¹⁹⁵ Sie beruht gleichermassen auf der stilistischen Nähe wie dem Abstand zur ersten Hoplitengeneration, die in den Anfang desselben Viertels fällt.

Auf annähernd gleicher chronologischer Ebene steht ein Krieger aus Lakonien (aus dem Heiligtum des Apollon Maleatas), den man im Vergleich zu den beiden Hopliten aus Olympia eine Miniatur nennen kann (H. 7.0, H. mit Helm und Plinthe 9.0 cm. Dagegen die Hopliten aus Olympia: H. 12.5, mit Helm. 15.5 cm; *Abb. 20, 21, 22*).¹⁹⁶ Man erkennt aber die gleiche gebundene Schrittstellung, den gleichen Typus von Helm und Panzer und die gleiche summarische Modellierung. Mit der ersten Generation ist diese Statuette u.a. durch ihre eingeritzten Verzierungen verbunden: Genau wie beim Pferdeführer

aus Treia schmückt eine eingeritzte Ranke, von rechts und links kommend, den Panzer, indem sie die beiden Brusthälften umfasst und in eine kleine Blüte ausläuft. Die abstehende Kante des Panzers ist mit eingepunzten Kreisen ausgestattet, genau dort, wo sich beim Krieger aus Treia eine Reihe von Zungen befindet. Überdies finden sich auf der Kalotte des Helmes eingepunzte Kreisrosetten und auf dem Kammträger des Helmes wieder eine Reihe kleiner Kreise. Aus diesen Verzierungen lässt sich auf alle Fälle eine Datierung zwischen 575 und 560 ableiten.¹⁹⁷ Auffallend an unserem Krieger ist auch die Frisur: die Haarsträhnen auf dem Rücken sind nur an der linken Seite querschraffiert (vier an der Zahl), an der rechten Seite jedoch glatt belassen

¹⁸⁸ Stibbe 1995. Vgl. unten, Abschnitt V, zur Chronologie.

¹⁸⁹ S. den hageren, gedrunghenen Körper des Pferdebandigers am Prunkhenkel von Treia, Stibbe 1995, Taf. 17, 1; ebenso die Pferde und Löwen neben und über ihm.

¹⁹⁰ Diese Verzierung kehrt noch einmal am Panzer eines Miniaturhopliten aus Lakonien zurück (s. weiter unten Anm. 196). Vgl. auch den lakonischen Hopliten aus Dodona (ebenfalls weiter unten).

¹⁹¹ Gauer 1991, 235f., Nr. S 94, S 95, Taf. 70, 71.

¹⁹² Die an die ältere 'Etagenperücke' erinnernde Frisur ist in der vorhergehenden Generation nur noch an der Potnia Theron der Hydria von Grächwil feststellbar (s. Jucker 1973, Taf. 14, 4).

¹⁹³ Dazu *The Sons of Hephaistos* 136 mit Anm. 19 und 170, zu einer Bronzestatuetten eines Mädchens aus Samos mit ähnlicher Frisur. Ostgriechisch ist auch der Helmtypus mit einem Ausschnitt am Wangenschutz. S. dazu A. Bottini u.a., *Antike Helme. Sammlung Lipperheide und andere Bestände des Antikenmuseums Berlin* (1988) 36ff. Er kommt in Lakonien nur im frühen 6. Jahrhundert vor, z.B. auf den Reliefamphoren: *BSA* 12 (1905/6) Taf. IX.

¹⁹⁴ Oben Anm. 81, 82. Kunze 1961, 171ff., Taf. 74-76. Gauer 1991, 130 hält es für möglich (mit H.-V. Herrmann), dass die vier Figuren zusammengehören; die Hopliten wären von einem Stabdreifuss weggebrochen worden, während die beiden anderen auf dem Rand eines Kessels gestanden hätten (dazu oben Abschnitt II).

¹⁹⁵ Kunze 1961, 174 datiert 'gegen Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts' (mit R. Hampe und U. Jantzen). Himmelmann 1965, 127 bevorzugt die sechziger Jahre. Zur Chronologie s. ferner unten Abschnitt V.

¹⁹⁶ Athen, National Archäologisches Museum 7598. FO. Heiligtum des Apollon Maleatas bei Melana (an der Ostküste Lakoniens). Herfort-Koch 1986, 56, 66, 116 Nr. K 131, Taf. 19, 1-2 (Bibl.). Phaklaris 1990, 181 mit Anm. 566-569 (zum Fundort). Gute Fotos bei Jucker 1966, Taf. 52, 1-3; 53, 1. Vokotopoulou 1997, 82, Abb. 57 (in Farben).

¹⁹⁷ Um 560 oder etwas früher haben wir die Palladia (oben Abschnitt I) mit ähnlicher Verzierung datiert. Dass man aber weiter zurückgehen kann, beweisen die ostgriechischen, besonders samischen Vorbilder, die in das letzte Viertel des 7. Jahrhunderts datiert werden. Besonders aufschlussreich ist ein bronzener Pferdebrustpanzer mit der Darstellung eines Herakles im Kampf gegen den dreileibigen Geryoneus aus Samos: *AM* 100 (1985) 53ff., bes. 71, Taf. 16; 20. Hier sind die gleichen eingepunzten Kreisrosetten auf der Kalotte eines ähnlichen Helmes und eine Reihe eingepunzter kleiner Kreise auf der Kalotte eines weiteren Helmes schon vorgegeben. Zum Thema ferner Stibbe 1996a, 374 mit Anm. 104.



Abb. 20. Athen, Nationalmuseum 7598, Bronzehoplit aus Melana.



Abb. 21. Derselbe, Seitenansicht.

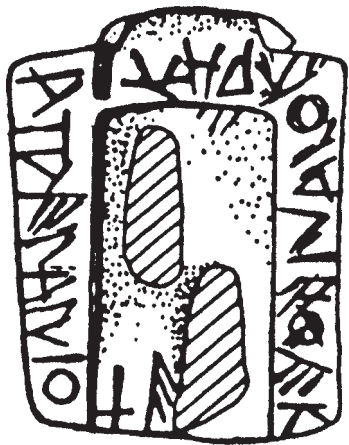


Abb. 22. Derselbe, Inschrift auf der Basis.



Abb. 23. Châtillon-sur Seine, der Krater von Vix.

(zwei an der Zahl). Im Allgemeinen kann man feststellen, dass die Querstrichelung ein frühes Merkmal ist: sie findet sich vor allem an den Zöpfen der Frauenprotomen der Telestas-Hydrien.¹⁹⁸ Die spätere Form ist die horizontal gekerbte. Beide Formen sieht man an den Zöpfen der Gorgonen des Kraters von Vix vereint (Abb. 35, 36). Die glatte Form jedoch kehrt an einer frühen Artemis-Statuette aus Dodona in Berlin wieder.¹⁹⁹

Nach alledem dürfte es einleuchten, dass eine Datierung des lakonischen Miniaturhopliten ans Ende des ersten Viertels des 6. Jahrhunderts nicht zu früh ist.²⁰⁰

Im zweiten Jahrhundertviertel entsteht in Lakonien neben dem Standardmodell des ruhig schreitenden Hopliten eine zweite Möglichkeit: die des vorwärts, zum Angriff stürmenden Kriegers. Ein schönes Beispiel ist der mit gezücktem Schwert in

Sturmschritt dargestellte, mit seiner Basisleiste erhaltene Hoplit aus der Gegend von Dodona in Berlin (Abb. 24).²⁰¹ Werner Gauer hat erkannt, dass dieser Krieger zum Zierat eines Stabdreifüßes

¹⁹⁸ Dazu oben Anm. 176.

¹⁹⁹ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 7971. Herfort-Koch 1986, 93 Nr. K 47, Taf. 6,1 (datiert: 560-550). Die großen Augen und die große Nase stehen in der Tradition der Potnia von Grächwil (oben Anm. 192) aus dem ersten Jahrzehnt des 6. Jahrhunderts. Eine Datierung um 580-570 dürfte demnach angemessen sein.

²⁰⁰ Kunze 1961, 175 gibt nur einen terminus ante quem an: vor 550. Ihm folgen Jucker 1966, 83 und wohl auch Rolley 1980, 60f. Daneben gibt es willkürliche Datierungen, zitiert bei Jost 1975, 358, Nr. 10. S. auch Herfort-Koch 1986, 93: 555-545 v.Chr. und Vokotopoulou 1997, 82: 540-520 v.Chr.

²⁰¹ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Misc 10560. H. 16 cm. Herfort-Koch 55, 57, 118 Nr. K 141, Taf. 18, 4 (Bibl.), mit zu spätere Datierung: 540-530 v.Chr.



Abb. 24. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Misc 10560, Bronzehoplit aus Dodona.

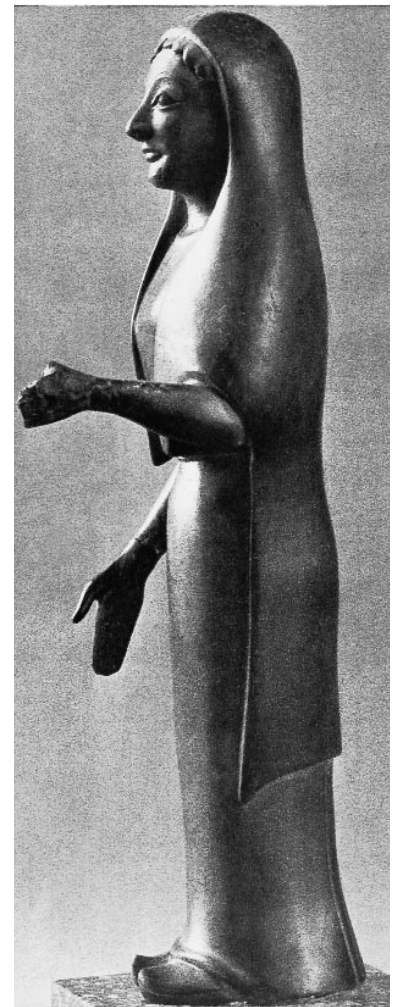


Abb. 25. Châtillon-sur Seine, der Krater von Vix, die Mantelfrau auf dem Deckel.

gehörte.²⁰² Die ikonographische Neuerung dürfte von einem Meister wie dem des Kraters von Vix ausgegangen sein. Die ungleich höhere Qualität der Hoplitens am Hals des Vix-Kraters sollte nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, dass sie noch recht einfach modelliert sind und schematisch daherschreiten. Die Muskulatur der Arme und Beine ist gewiss weiter entwickelt als die hölzerne Form der Gliedmaßen des Miniaturhopliten aus Lakonien, aber der zeitliche Abstand dürfte nicht mehr als ein Jahrzehnt betragen.²⁰³

Man hat die Form des Schamhaares als ein entscheidendes Argument für eine Datierung der Hoplitens und damit des ganzen Kraters in die Jahre 530-520

²⁰² Gauer 1991, 130. Es handelt sich also nicht um einen Gefäßrand, wie Neugebauer, Kunze und andere glaubten. Nach Gauer stand der Hoplit auf 'der waagrechten Leiste zwischen den Bogenstreben des Dreifußes', dort wo am Dreifuß von Metapont schreitende Kühe angebracht sind. Stabdreifüße wurden, soweit ich sehe, in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts in Lakonien kaum noch produziert. Ausnahmefälle sind die Reste zweier Stabdreifüße aus Olympia, die wegen ihrer Palmetten nach 550 datiert werden können: *OF* XI, Nr. S 14, S 15, Taf. 77. Diese brauchen jedoch nicht unbedingt lakonisch zu sein.

²⁰³ Rolley 1982, 60f. vergleicht ebenfalls die 'musculature' der Beine der Hoplitens am Kraterhals mit denen des Miniaturhopliten aus Lakonien, den er ebenfalls als älter einstuft. Er datiert den letzteren aber 'avant le milieu du siècle', das ist etwa ein Vierteljahrhundert später als hier geschehen. Dagegen Croissant 1988, 158.



Abb. 26. Derselbe, Detail eines Hopliten.

benutzt.²⁰⁴ Bei näherer Betrachtung stellt sich aber heraus, dass dieses Detail keineswegs ein zuverlässiges Kriterium ist.²⁰⁵ Zwar kann man behaupten, dass das Schamhaar sich von einer anfänglichen Trapezform²⁰⁶ zu einer schmalen, geschwungenen Form am Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts entwickelt,²⁰⁷ aber die Übergangsformen zwischen 575 und 525 sind nicht klar voneinander abgegrenzt.²⁰⁸ Schon an den einzelnen Hopliten des Kraters von Vix ist die Form des Schamhaares unterschiedlich ausgefallen.²⁰⁹ Die obere Abschlusslinie ist dort im Allgemeinen leicht geschwungen, sonst aber folgen die seitlichen Abschlusslinien der Leistenbiege. Nach 550 entsteht eine Tendenz, die Seitenlinien von der Leistenbiege zu lösen.²¹⁰ Das ist also bei unseren Hopliten noch keineswegs der Fall. Sie stehen in dieser Beziehung auf der chronologischen Ebene eines nackten Kouros wie der an einer Oinochoe in Basel, die auch auf Grund weiterer Argumente um 565-555 datiert werden kann.²¹¹ Hinzu kommt, dass der Bronzebildner, der den Krater von Vix schuf, gewiss ein bahnbrechender Meister war, der auch in solchen Einzelheiten zum ersten Mal eine größere Eleganz zum Ausdruck gebracht haben könnte, wie er es in anderen Details ebenfalls getan hat.

Über die typische Form der Augen ist oben bereits das Nötige gesagt worden. Die Nase ist groß und kräftig, wie bei lakonischen Hopliten üblich. Auch die Haartracht – tief auf den Rücken fallende, getreppte Zöpfe – ist von nun an die für Lakonien bezeichnende.²¹²

Bei den Hopliten im Sturmschritt ist die Verlagerung des Körpergewichts in die Richtung des Vorderbeines ein charakteristisches Merkmal. Sie war beim Krieger aus der Umgebung von Dodona in Berlin (Abb. 24) schon deutlich festzustellen. Bei den Hopliten des Kraters ist sie weniger ausgeprägt. Ein Krieger aus einer Privatsammlung in Basel, der

²⁰⁴ Rolley 1982, 61. Croissant 1988, 158 mit Anm. 266. Er hält das Schamhaar für 'la seule base à peu près sûre' für die Datierung.

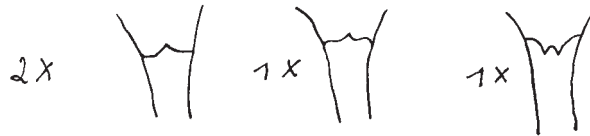
²⁰⁵ Grundlegend ist noch immer Karusos 1961.

²⁰⁶ Karusos 1961, 72ff.: Frühform. Man sollte nicht vergessen, dass die Einteilung bei Karusos in zwei Gruppen (I, II A,B,C) auf der jeweiligen Datierung der Statuetten beruht und nicht umgekehrt.

²⁰⁷ Karusos 75f. Gruppe II A.

²⁰⁸ Das Kriterium erscheint weniger zuverlässig als das der Palmetten. Die Entwicklung der Palmette kann man innerhalb eines Produktionszentrums, des lakonischen, über einen großen Teil des 6. Jahrhunderts dank des reichen Materials gut verfolgen (s. Stibbe 1997a). Das ist beim Schamhaar nicht der Fall. Dazu kommt, dass die Untersuchung Karusos' methodische Mängel aufweist: Er macht bei seiner Gruppeneinteilung keinen Unterschied, weder zwischen Produktionszentren noch zwischen Materialgruppen. Dadurch verfehlt er die Möglichkeit, ein führendes Zentrum von einem nachahmenden zu unterscheiden und die chronologischen Folgen aus diesem Verhältnis zu erkennen. Um nur ein Beispiel zu nennen: Die Form des Schamhaares an attischen Marmerkouroi braucht keineswegs derselben Entwicklung zu folgen wie an lakonischen Bronzekouroi. Das Thema kann hier nicht weiter verfolgt werden. Es sollte nur vor weitreichenden chronologischen Schlüssen auf Grund des Pubes gewarnt werden. S. auch Anm. 206.

²⁰⁹ Auf Fotos nur selten erkennbar. S. Joffroy 1954, Taf. IX. Ders. 1979, Abb. 22. Vokotopoulou 1997, 110 Abb. 99. Hier Abb. 28. Während einer Autopsie hat der Verfasser vier Hopliten kontrollieren können. Dabei ergaben sich folgende Formen, deren Seiten stets mit der Leistenbiege verbunden sind:



²¹⁰ Karusos 1961, 74 Gruppe II C. Das zeigt sich z.B. beim Pubes des Henkel-Kuros einer Hydria aus Randazzo (Stibbe 1992, 35, 57 Nr. H2, Abb. 44), die auf Grund anderer Kriterien um 550 datiert ist. Hier ist mit der 'fortschrittlichen' Loslösung der Seitenlinie von der Leiste die 'rückschrittliche', gerade gezogene, obere Abschlusslinie verbunden. Ein hübsches Beispiel sich widersprechender Tendenzen.

²¹¹ Stibbe 1994a, 120.

²¹² Dass hier ein Treppenmotiv, allerdings in Seitenansicht, vorliegt und nicht etwa eine Art 'Etagenperücke', ergibt sich aus den Möglichkeiten der Haargestaltung an den Nackenmähen der Pferde aus dem gleichen Aufzug (Abb. 37).



Abb. 27. Derselbe, ein Hoplit.



Abb. 28. Derselbe, ein Hoplit.



Abb. 29. Derselbe, ein Hoplit.



Abb. 30. Derselbe, ein Hoplit.



Abb. 31. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F 768, Detail eines Stabdreifußes aus Metapont.

wahrscheinlich nicht lakonisch ist,²¹³ zeigt die Gewichtsverlagerung wieder deutlicher und ist deswegen später, um 550, anzusetzen.²¹⁴

Ein bekanntes Kriegerpaar aus Dodona darf in dieser Reihe nicht fehlen (Abb. 32).²¹⁵ Hier ist die Bewegung noch gesteigert: der eine erhaltene Fuß setzt sich kräftiger vom Boden ab, die Arme sind höher erhoben. Zum ersten Mal tragen die muskulösen Gestalten lederne 'Pteruges', die den Unterleib bedecken.²¹⁶ Das Paar stammt zweifellos aus ein und derselben Werkstatt. Trotzdem gibt es bedeutende Unterschiede: der eine trägt einen altmodischen Helm ohne Nasenschutz, aber mit einem 'modernen' niedrigen Helmbusch, der andere hat einen altmodischen hohen Helmbusch mit einem 'modernen' Nasenschutzhelm kombiniert. Beide sind bärtig, aber die Figur mit hohem Helmbusch hat die in Lakonien üblichen langen getreppten Haarsträhnen, die tief auf den Rücken fallen, die andere den breiten, kurzen, in Korinth üblichen Haarschnitt. Auch die Panzer sind ungleich verziert: altertümlich in eine Spitze auslaufende Rippenlinien beim 'Korinther', schön geschwungene Doppellinien neuerer Art beim 'Lakonier', dessen Brustpartie

eine hübsch eingeritzte Palmette oder Blüte, die an alte Zeiten erinnert, aufweist.²¹⁷

Eine Erklärung für das Paradox 'sehr ähnlich und doch sehr verschieden' könnte sein, dass tatsächlich zwei Toreuten, einer aus Lakonien und einer aus

²¹³ Basel, Antikemuseum und Sammlung Ludwig. Leihgabe aus der Sammlung Ebnöther. Kat. *Idole, Masken, Menschen*, Museum zu Allerheiligen, Schaffhausen, 1993, 48 Nr. 3, 12 mit Abb. *Das andere Sparta*, 142f., Abb. 71.

²¹⁴ Er ist der erste in unserer Reihe, der den Unterleib mit einem kurzen Chiton (?) bedeckt hat. Dies ist bei den älteren Hoplitens, wie die am Krater von Vix, ungebräuchlich.

²¹⁵ Ioannina, Archäologisches Museum 1411 und 4913. FO. Dodona. Herfort-Koch 1986, 57, 71, 117 Nr. K 137 und K 138 (Bibl.), Taf. 20, 5-6 (ihre Angaben unter K 138 sind ein Irrtum – dazu: Gauer 1991, 130 Anm. 383). Gute Abbildungen bei Vokotopoulou 1975, Taf. 48, 49; Dies. 1997, 78, Abb. 51. S. auch H. Kyrieleis (ed.), *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik* (1986) 111 mit Taf. 45, 1 ('Waffenläufer'). *The Sons of Hephaistos* 97, 160.

²¹⁶ Die athletische Figuren sind mit denen des Lydos und des lakonischen Jagd-Malers vergleichbar, die um 560-550 datiert werden (LV 167). Die Datierung bei Herfort-Koch (vorige Anm.) ist deshalb viel zu spät angesetzt.

²¹⁷ S. oben Anm. 190, 196. Für weitere lakonische Merkmale s. *The Sons of Hephaistos* 98 Anm. 209.



Abb. 32. Ioannina, Archäologisches Museum 4913, Bronzehoplite aus Dodona.

Korinth, in ein und derselben Werkstatt in Dodona zusammengearbeitet haben. Eine solche Zusammenarbeit lässt sich, gerade für Dodona, auch sonst nachweisen.²¹⁸

Neben der neuen Möglichkeit des ausschreitenden Hopliten wurde die alte, die ihn ruhig schreitend oder stehend wiedergibt, weiterhin produziert.²¹⁹ Die Datierung dieser Statuetten geht bis über die Jahrhundertmitte hinaus.²²⁰ Nach 550 entsteht sogar eine umgekehrte Tendenz, die den Hopliten regungs-

los, mit den Füßen fast nebeneinander, dazu in reichgeschmücktem Panzer und kurzem Chiton,

²¹⁸ Dazu Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* 159-162.

²¹⁹ Zwei Beispiele: eine Statuette aus dem Jemen in Schweizer Privatbesitz, *Das andere Sparta* 142, Taf. 9 (in Farben); eine Statuette aus Messenien in Athen, National Archäologisches Museum 7644, Herfort-Koch 1986, 116 Nr. K 134, Taf. 19, 5-7.

²²⁰ Nach Herfort-Koch 1986, beide 540-525 (ihre Nr. K 133 und K 134).



Abb. 33. Athen, Nationalmuseum 14789, Bronzehoplite aus Longa (Messenien).



Abb. 34. Derselbe, Seitenansicht.

darstellt (Abb. 33, 34).²²¹ Ein Krieger dieser Art aus Dodona trägt wieder den altmodischen hohen Helmbusch.²²²

Mit diesen Hoplitzen haben wir uns schon recht weit von den Kriegern am Hals des Kraters von Vix entfernt. Der stilistische Abstand lässt sich auch chronologisch ausdrücken: er bestätigt in etwa die frühe Datierung des Kraters, um 570-560, die wir auf anderem Wege bereits festgestellt hatten.

Die Gorgonen

Als dritte Gattung menschlicher Figuren am Krater von Vix können wir die beiden Gorgonen betrachten, deren menschliche Züge allerdings nur auf das fratzenhafte Antlitz und den Oberkörper mit Armen und Händen beschränkt sind (Abb. 23, 35, 36). Es befindet sich je eine Gorgone an einem der beiden Volutenhenkeln. Sie sind aus einer Form gegossen,

aber in Kaltarbeit hat der Meister für Abwechslung gesorgt: die jeweils alt- und neomodische Schräg- und Waagrechtgravierung der langen Zöpfe auf der Brust wurde oben bereits erwähnt. Sonst lassen sich noch geringe Unterschiede in der Ausführung der Augenbrauen und Nasenfalten feststellen.

Die Idee an sich, die Öffnung unter dem Griff des Volutenhenkels mit Hilfe einer Gorgonengestalt abzudecken, war neu. Vorher hatte man sich auf eine plastische Verzierung in Form von Fingern

²²¹ Athen, National Archäologisches Museum 14789. FO. Heiligtum des Apollon Korinthos, Longa (Messenien). Herfort-Koch 1986, 117 Nr. K 135, Taf. 20, 1-2 (Bibl.; datiert: 540-525). Ähnlich verziert ist der Panzer eines Hopliten aus Marmor in Berlin, der im Heraion von Samos zu Tage kam. Dieser Krieger könnte lakonisch sein: *Das andere Sparta*, 235-240 mit Abb. 127-128.

²²² Herfort-Koch 1986, 57, 71, 117 Nr. K 136, Taf. 20, 9-10.



Abb. 35. Châtillon-sur Seine, der Krater von Vix: Gorgo an einem Henkel.

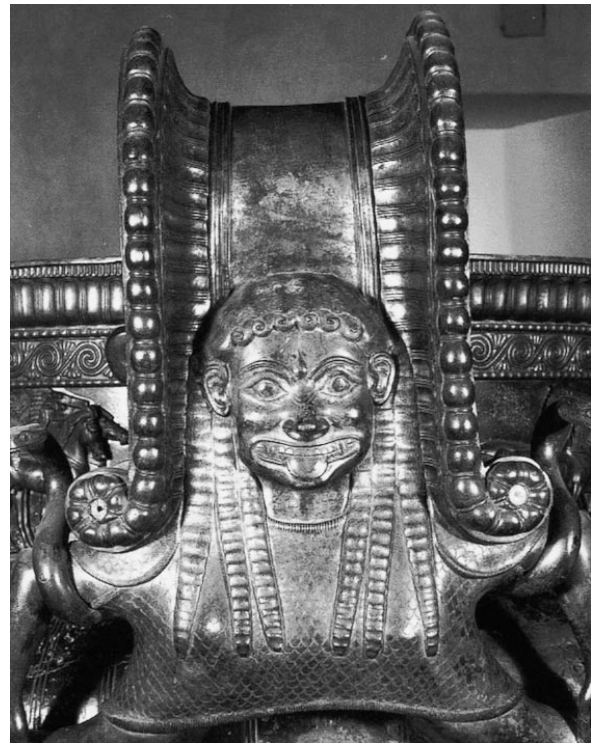


Abb. 36. Derselbe, Gorgo am anderen Henkel.

beschränkt, die das Gefäß sozusagen am Bügel aufheben.²²³ Für die Lösung mit einer Gorgone gibt es bisher keine älteren Beispiele als die am Krater von Vix. Der Meister des Kraters dürfte der Erfinder sein. Die Idee fand Widerhall und wurde in verschiedenen Ausführungen und Varianten wiederholt.²²⁴

Die Köpfe der beiden Gorgonen verraten ihren lakonischen Ursprung durch folgende Details: den 'Tropfen' auf der Stirn zwischen den Augenbrauen,²²⁵ die plastische Hervorhebung der Augenbrauen und, wie oben erwähnt, durch die Form der Zöpfe. Für die Datierung ist die Form des Antlitzes wichtig, die noch deutlich von ihrer Herkunft, von den älteren, rechteckig umrissenen lakonischen Gorgoneia aus dem ersten Viertel des 6. Jahrhunderts zeugt.²²⁶ Sie ist andererseits älter als die pausbackige, breitgerundeten Gesichter der Gorgonen an den Henkeln der Volutenkratere aus Trebenische, die um und nach 550 entstanden sind.²²⁷ Damit ist eine Datierung für die Gorgonen des Vix-Kraters in das 2. Viertel des 6. Jahrhundert gesichert.²²⁸

Der tierische Charakter der Gorgonen am Krater von Vix kommt durch das Maul mit den Hauern noch

²²³ Dazu Schleiffenbaum 1991, 35.

²²⁴ Hitzl 1982, 44 meint, dass die Henkel in Nîmes und Paris (bei ihm Nr. 10 und 11) älter seien als der Krater von Vix, ohne jedoch dafür einen stilistischen Beweis vorzulegen. Die Beine ohne überfallendes Wams stellen nur eine, vielleicht einmalige Variante dar.

²²⁵ Dieses Detail kann man als ein Überbleibsel aus früheren Zeiten erklären, da die lakonischen Toreuten die dreieckige Stirnfalte von nahöstlichen Vorbildern übernommen hatten; s. Stibbe 1996a, 374ff. Übrigens sind die Brauen nicht nur plastisch hervorgehoben, sondern auch wie in Lakonien üblich gestrichelt; s. Stibbe 1995, 76.

²²⁶ Zu diesem Typus s. Rolley 1982, 63 ('à cornes') und Stibbe 1994b, 93-95, Ders. *The Sons of Hephaistos*, Chapter III, 74f. Man beachte u.a. das breite Maul, das die Rechteckigkeit des Gesichtsumrisses mitbedingt. Dagegen haben die Gorgoneia von der Jahrhundertmitte ab ein kleineres Maul, ein prononciertes Kinn und runde Backen (s. folgende Anm.).

²²⁷ Zu diesem Typus s. Rolley 1982, 64 mit Abb. 187: sein 'second type', den er zu Unrecht pauschal als korinthisch einstuft. Dazu *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 61ff.

²²⁸ Rolley 1982, 64 irrt, wenn er die Gorgonenköpfe des Vix-Kraters seiner 'second type' zuordnet. Das Gorgoneion an der Hydria von Novi Pazar ist jünger: Man beachte nur die Linie von den Schläfen zu den Backen abwärts, die das Gesicht rechteckig machen (beim Krater von Vix) oder rundlich (bei der Hydria von Novi Pazar). Auch die Gorgonen des Kraters in München (Masss 1979, 52, 53) sind deswegen älter.



Abb. 37. Derselbe, Pferdegespann.

deutlich zum Ausdruck. Spätere Gorgonenköpfe verlieren dieses drohende, tierische Element, wie man etwa an den Gorgonen der Kratere aus Trebenishte beobachten kann.²²⁹

Die Pferde

Stärker als alle anderen Figuren am Krater von Vix und im Gegensatz zur Mantelfrau auf dem Deckel, sind es die Pferde, die einen fortschrittlichen, scheinbar recht weit über die hier vorgeschlagene Datierung hinausgehenden Eindruck machen (Abb. 37-43).²³⁰ Die raffinierte Modellierung der Leiber, die gekonnte Staffelung der vier Pferde hintereinander, die ihre Köpfe perspektivisch aufwerfen, und die abwechslungsreiche Wiedergabe der Stirnschöpfe und Nackenmähnen bewirken eine außerordentliche Lebendigkeit. Die Meisterschaft der Wiedergabe sollte uns aber nicht in die Irre führen. Schon ein Blick auf die direkt hinter den Pferden auf den von ihnen gezogenen Wagen stehenden Wagenlenkern (Abb. 40-41) genügt, uns den wahren Sachverhalt zu verraten: Sie stehen hölzern und gerade aufgerichtet da, in ihren langen, durch keine Falte oder sonstige

Modellierung akzentuierten, nur mit einem Gürtel eingeschnürten Gewändern. Sie halten die Zügel mit steif ausgestreckten Armen und Händen. Ihre Köpfe, in reinem Profil, wiederholen die Züge der Hopliten.²³¹

Für die Datierung der Pferde sind ihre Körperverhältnisse wichtig. Die Körper sind im Verhältnis zu den breiten Nacken und großen Köpfen klein,

²²⁹ *The Sons of Hephaistos*, Chapter III, Abb. 37-38, 58-59.

²³⁰ Rolley 1982, 61 Anm.141 möchte die Pferde *nicht* als 'éléments de datation' benutzen: 'Ils ne pourraient en aucun cas fournir des précisions équivalentes à ce qu'on peut déduire des figures humaines.' Trotzdem entnimmt er gerade einem Vergleich mit Pferdefragmenten aus Isthmia (s. weiter unten Anm. 247) ein Argument für seine Grundhypothese, dass der Stil des Kraters ein Mischstil sei und er deshalb nach Unteritalien gehöre (S. 69). S. 62 macht er die Beobachtung, dass die Anatomie der Pferde von Vix 'est très évidemment plus évolué' als die der Reiter auf dem Hals des Kraters von Trebenishte in Belgrad und einiger Appliquen aus der Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts. Dagegen mit Recht Croissant 1988, 158.

²³¹ Es fällt auf, dass die Wagenlenker mit einem Helm ausgestattet sind. Damit ist wohl nur zum Ausdruck gebracht, dass sie in den Krieg (nicht zu einem Wettkampf) ziehen.



Abb. 38. Derselbe, Pferdegespann, Detail.

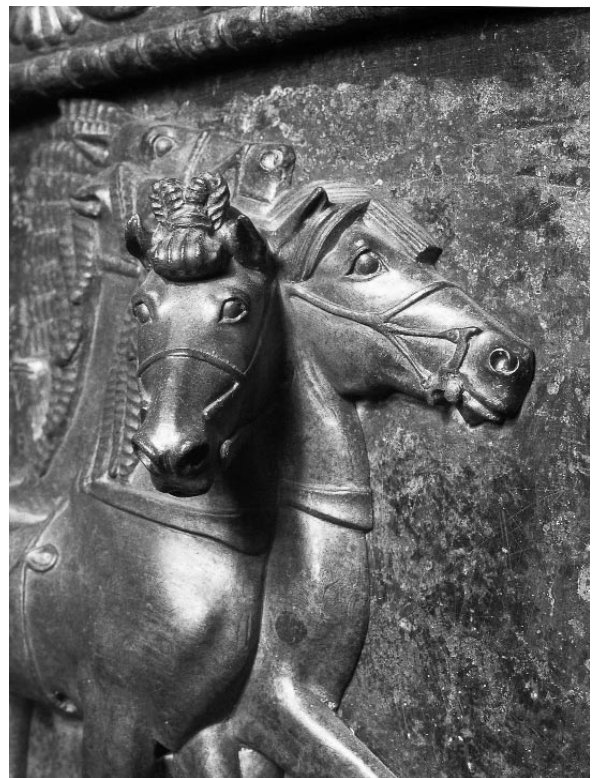


Abb. 39. Derselbe, Pferdegespann, Detail.

kräftig und gedungen. Zu vergleichen ist ein Pferd aus dem Heiligtum des Apollon Tyritas in Lakonien (Abb. 44-46).²³² Zu diesem Pferd schreibt Hans Jucker: 'Wir dürfen dieses nach dem Fundort zuversichtlich als südpeleponnesisch und der nur lokalen Bedeutung des Heiligtums wegen als lakonisch betrachten. Ich kenne kein zweites, dass so sehr mit den Pferden des Kraterfrieses übereinstimmt. Es zeigt die gleiche Gestaltung der Mähne, den gleichen Schweifansatz und dieselben knopfartigen Augen. Die Körperbildung ist wohl etwas weiter entwickelt. Wozu die Statuette gedient hat, bleibt rätselhaft. Auf dem Kopf steht, mit dem Tier in einem Stück gegossen, eine Kanne, die mit dem hohlen Pferdekörper kommuniziert, sodass man das Ganze als Spendegefäß benutzen konnte; – aber dies in einem Apollonheiligtum?'²³³ Auch Herfort-Koch betont das 'sich einer Erklärung entziehende ... kesselartige, hohe Gefäß ... auf dem Kopf des Tieres'.²³⁴ Erstaunlich sind der große Ausguss (Tülle) nach vorne und ein Henkelansatz nach hinten. Phaklaris meint, dass der fehlende Henkel sich zum Schwanz des Pferdes hin wölbte.²³⁵ Ein Spendegefäß in Form eines Bronzepferdes ist wohl einmalig im lakonischen und überhaupt im

griechischen Bereich.²³⁶ Es dürfte auf nahöstliche Vorbilder zurückgehen. Darauf weist zunächst die Form des Gefäßes auf dem Kopf des Pferdes: ähnliche Formen, mit einem im Verhältnis zum Körper riesigen Ausguss, waren im 7. Jahrhundert in Kleinasien und besonders in Gordion beliebt.²³⁷ Auch das Ornament auf der Schulter, das bisher unbeachtet blieb (Abb. 46), lässt sich, über eine singuläre Parallele aus Sparta, auf nahöstliche

²³² Athen, National Archäologisches Museum 18808. H. 14 cm. Herfort-Koch 1986, 66, 124 Nr. K 172 (Bibl.). Phaklaris 1990, 175 Nr. 3, Taf. 77d. Stibbe, *Das andere Sparta*, 147 mit Anm. 42, 43 und Abb. 74.

²³³ Jucker 1966, 110 mit Taf. 46.

²³⁴ Herfort-Koch 1986, 66. Sie erwähnt 'zwei griffähnliche Fortsätze' an diesem Gefäß und meint damit wohl den Ausguss und einen Henkelansatz.

²³⁵ Phaklaris 1990, 175.

²³⁶ Vergleichbar sind vielleicht die Tiergefäße in Form von Pferdeaskoi, die auf Samos gefunden wurden und später (im 5. Jahrhundert) auf Sizilien beliebt waren. Dazu B.H.M. Heldring, *Sicilian Plastic Vases* (1981) 18-23.

²³⁷ R.S. Young, *The Gordion Excavations. Final Reports I* (1981) 251-254 mit u.a. Taf. 93, AB. Diese Gefäße sind in Ton und in Bronze erhalten und mit einem Sieb und einem Deckel ausgestattet. Sie wurden ebenfalls als Spendegefäße benutzt.



Abb. 40. Derselbe, Pferdegespann.



Abb. 41. Derselbe, Pferdegespann.



Abb. 42. Derselbe, Pferdegespann, Detail.

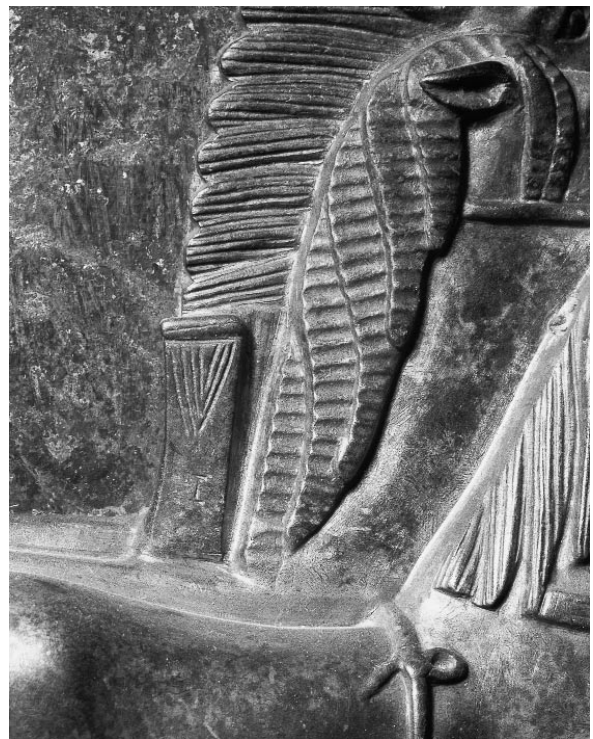


Abb. 43. Derselbe, Pferdegespann, Detail mit Versatzmarke (T).

Vorbilder zurückführen.²³⁸ Die Parallele in Sparta befindet sich, in Form einer Palmette, am unteren Henkelansatz einer Oinochoe (Abb. 47), die um 570-560 datiert ist und somit einen Hinweis auf eine ähnliche Datierung für das Bronzepferd gibt.²³⁹

Wir haben das von Rhomaïos schon 1911 veröffentlichte²⁴⁰ Bronzepferd aus dem Heiligtum des Apollon Tyrítas näher betrachtet, weil es eine recht genaue Parallele zu den Pferden auf dem Hals des Vix-Kraters darstellt. Es ist somit ein wichtiges Argument, das für das Entstehen des Kraters in Lakonien und für eine Datierung in das zweite Viertel des 6. Jahrhunderts spricht.²⁴¹

Eine weitere Parallele bietet ein gut erhaltenes Bronzepferd aus Lokris in Mariemont (Abb. 48).²⁴² Man hat längst erkannt, dass es 'of the same stable' wie die Pferde vom Hals des Kraters von Vix sein muss, auch wenn man es 'perhaps slightly later and certainly sleeker and better fed than the Vix teams' nennen kann.²⁴³ Die Augen und die Stirn- und Nackenmähne stimmen mit diesen und mit denen des Pferdes aus dem Heiligtum des Apollon Tyrítas überein.

Nicht einmal der Fundort, den man zu Unrecht als ein Indiz für einen korinthischen Ursprung anführen wollte,²⁴⁴ steht einer Zuweisung an Lakonien im

²³⁸ Als Prototyp dürfte eine Palmette wie jene an einer phönizischen Silberkanne aus Pontecagnano gelten. S. Kat. *Die Phönizier im Zeitalter Homers* (1990) 42f. Abb. 31, 32; 172 Nr. 108. Es wachsen hier neun Stengel, die kleine Palmetten als Blüten tragen, aus den Palmettenblättern heraus. Zu den phönizischen Silberkannen im allgemeinen s. Shefton 1979, 25ff., 56f.

²³⁹ Sparta, Museum 1017. FO. Heiligtum der Artemis Orthia. H. 23 cm. LV 66, 223 Nr. 66 (Bibl.), Taf. 26. Stibbe 1992, 3 Nr. 2, Abb. 2. Ders. 1997a, 41, 56, Subgroup IVA, Nr. IVAc. Das Gefäß ist recht einmalig in verschiedener Hinsicht, u.a. wegen der im Tierfries erscheinenden seltenen Löwengreifen und wegen der Form der Palmette: sie ist plastisch ausgeführt, aber die Stiele zwischen den Blättern, die in Kreise oder Kugeln enden, sind gemalt. Ungewöhnlich sind auch die gemalten Voluten, die eine abstrakte Kreisform angenommen haben und (wiederum) mit Reihen kleiner Ringel ausgefüllt sind. Ähnliche Ringel sieht man als Verzierung in den Bändern der Palmetten an 'rhodischen' Kannen (Shefton 1979, Taf. 9, 2-3). Auch der plastisch gegliederte Wulst oberhalb der Palmette und der rohrenförmige Griff dürften auf solche Bronzekannen und letztendlich auf phönizische Silberkannen zurückzuführen sein.

²⁴⁰ K. Rhomaïos, *Praktika* 1911, 272, Abb. 13.

²⁴¹ Dieses Argument wurde bisher von denjenigen außer Acht gelassen, die den Krater einer unteritalischen (Rolley) oder korinthischen Werkstatt (Vokotopoulou, Croissant) zuweisen möchten.

²⁴² Mariemont, Musée Royal B 187. Gjødesen 1965, 338 Anm. 33, Taf. 71.8. Stibbe, *Das andere Sparta*, 147f. mit Anm. 44, Abb. 75.

²⁴³ Gjødesen a.a.O. (vorige Anm.).

²⁴⁴ Gjødesen 1965, 228 Anm. 33.



Abb. 44. Athen, Nationalmuseum 18808, Spendegefäß in Form eines Pferdes, aus Tyros (Heiligtum des Apollo Tyritas).



Abb. 45. Dasselbe, Detail.



Abb. 46. Dasselbe, Detail.

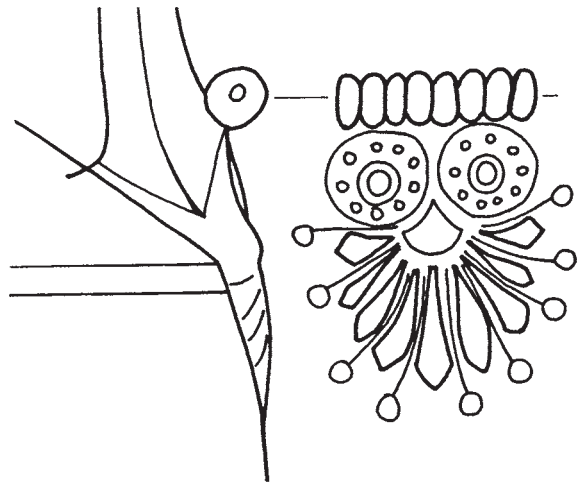


Abb. 47. Sparta, Museum 1017, Oinochoe aus Sparta, Henkelpalmette.



Abb. 48. Mariemont, Musée Royal 187, Bronzepferd aus Lokris.

Wege.²⁴⁵ Für die Datierung hat man gemalte Pferde auf spätkorinthischen Vasen herangezogen – was wiederum zum zweiten Viertel des 6. Jahrhunderts führen würde.²⁴⁶

Weitere Parallelen für die Vix-Pferde gibt es bisher nicht. Isolierte Köpfe aus Isthmia und Paestum, die man zu Gunsten einer Herkunft aus Korinth oder Unteritalien in Betracht gezogen hat, überzeugen nicht. Sie geben zu wenig her und sind von geringerer Qualität.²⁴⁷

Löwen (Abb. 49, 50)

Die Löwen sind im Vorhergehenden schon mehrmals erwähnt und erörtert worden, zumal als Vergleichsstücke zu den Löwen(protomen) zweier Hydrien aus Paestum. Hier sollen nur noch einige ergänzende Bemerkungen angehängt werden. Wiederum ist es wegen der außergewöhnlich hohen Qualität aller Teile nicht einfach, geeignete Vergleichsstücke zu finden, wenn man einmal von den genannten Hydrien und der Löwenpranke eines Stabdreifußes aus Olympia absieht.²⁴⁸

Als Zeitgenosse außerhalb jenes Kreises lässt sich ein Löwe zum Vergleich heranziehen, der im Kampf mit einem nackten Mann (wohl Herakles) dargestellt ist (Abb. 51, 52).²⁴⁹ Er nimmt genau die gleiche, sich aufbäumende Stellung ein wie die Löwen am Krater von Vix. Er hat den Kopf von seinem Belagerer abgewandt und das rechte Hinterbein auf dessen

²⁴⁵ Als Fundort ist angegeben: Martino bei Kastri und unweit vom antiken Halai, im östlichen (opuntischen) Lokris, also an der Küste Euboia gegenüber, auf der Fahrtroute, die von Lakonien, an Athen vorbei, gen Norden nach Pydna und ins innere Mazedonien (nach Trebenische) führte. Dazu: *The Sons of Hephaistos*, Chapter 109-110.

²⁴⁶ E. Kunze, *OB III* (1938/9) 14, Anm. 3.

²⁴⁷ Rolley 1982, 63, Abb. 178. Ders. 1987, 345f. mit Abb. 5. Ders. 1994, 246 wiederholt seine Meinung, der Pferdekopf aus Paestum sei 'exactement identique à celles de Vix'. So auch Croissant 1988, 154. *Isthmia VII*, 93, 95 Nr. 326 A, B; Taf. 54.

²⁴⁸ Croissant 1988, 152 stellt fest, dass man für die Löwen des Kraters kaum Gleichwertiges in der Vasenmalerei nach 700 findet, und übergeht damit die zugehörige Problematik.

²⁴⁹ Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum 3015. FO. unbekannt (ex Scheuffelen). H. 7.5. *Das andere Sparta*, 152 mit Anm. 64 und Abb. 79.



Abb. 49. Châtillon-sur Seine, der Krater von Vix, Detail: Löwe an einem Henkel.



Abb. 50. Derselbe, Löwe an einem Henkel.

Knie gestemmt, wie die Löwen an der Verstrebung des Henkels des Vix-Kraters. Er hat die gleiche stumpf-breite Schnauze, eine ähnlich plastisch hervorgehobene Flammenmähne am Kragen und im Nacken. Sein Körper ist kurz und kräftig wie dort, nur weniger 'genial' modelliert als die Löwenkörper am Krater.²⁵⁰ Auch die Körperformen des Herakles tragen, durch ihre noch wenig modellierte Muskulatur, zu einer chronologischen Einordnung in das zweite Viertel des 6. Jahrhunderts bei.²⁵¹ Zu vergleichen ist der ähnlich vierschrotige Herakles in Kassel, der aus dem Peloponnes²⁵² und sein Gegenstück in Berlin, der aus Olympia stammt.²⁵³ Die Muskulatur ist hier ein wenig weiter entwickelt, aber Kopf- und Gesichtsformen und vor allem die kurze Haartracht (die getrepten Strähnen lakonischer Art laufen von der Stirn geradeswegs nach hinten und enden, wie der Nackenschutz eines Helmes, abgesetzt im Nacken) stimmen überein. Merkwürdig beim Löwen aus der Sammlung Scheuffelen in Stuttgart ist die Zeichnung der plastisch akzentuierten Nackenmähne: sie zeigt das gleiche in Strähnen getrepte Muster wie die Kopfhaare des Herakles. Die traditionellen Flammenzotteln sind also aufgegeben, aber die

nicht-traditionelle plastische Wiedergabe ist beibehalten.²⁵⁴

Das führt uns zur Betrachtung eines Phänomens, das bisher wenig Beachtung fand. Die plastische Wiedergabe der Nackenmähne ist auf eine einzige chronologische Stufe in der Entwicklung des lakonischen Löwenbildes im 6. Jahrhundert beschränkt.²⁵⁵ Zu

²⁵⁰ Es fällt hier der gleiche Unterschied auf wie bei den Pferden am Kraterhals und den Vergleichsstücken aus Lakonien und Lokris (dazu oben, mit Anm. 245).

²⁵¹ Weniger klar sind die Gesichtszüge, die durch Korrosion gelitten haben. Die kleinen, knopfartigen Augen des Löwen kehren indessen an den Randlöwen der Hydrien der Paestum-Sala Consilina-Gruppe zurück (Rolley 1982, Taf. XII).

²⁵² Kassel, Landesmuseum Br. 17. H. 9.7. Herfort-Koch 1986, 57, 61, 119 Nr. K 143 (Bibl.), Taf. 18, 8 (datiert 550-540).

²⁵³ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 4076. H. 9.6. Herfort-Koch 1986, 57, 75, 118 Nr. K. 142 (Bibl.), datiert: 550-540.

²⁵⁴ Der Einfluss der Werke des Meisters des Vix-Kraters ist anzunehmen, ansonsten aber ist das Werk einer anderen Werkstatt zuzuschreiben.

²⁵⁵ Diese Entwicklung ist beschrieben in Stibbe 1994a, 111-114. Die ältere Generation hat die Flammenzotteln mehr oder weniger naturgetreu *eingeritzt*, eine dritte Generation, folgend auf die



Abb. 51. Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum 3.15, Kampf des Herakles mit dem Löwen.



Abb. 52. Derselbe, Hintenansicht.

dieser Stufe gehören die Löwen am Krater von Vix, der Henkellöwe an einer Hydria aus Paestum und die Löwenprotome an einer weiteren Hydria aus Paestum (für beide s. oben Abschnitt III). Dazu gesellen sich die kleinen Randlöwen und die Löwenprotome einer Oinochoe in Berlin, die oben (Abschnitt III, Anm. 141) ebenfalls der nächsten Umgebung des Meisters des Vix-Kraters zugeschrieben wurde, sowie drei weitere Oinochoen, die sich alle durch ihre hohe künstlerische Qualität auszeichnen (ein Kuros ersetzt den Henkel) und bereits in die gleiche Zeit (um 565-555) angesetzt worden sind.²⁵⁶ Diese Datierung kam unabhängig zustande, auf Grund anderer Argumente, als den hier vorgetragenen, und kann deshalb als zusätzliche Datierungshilfe, auch für den Krater von Vix, gelten. Die plastische Wiedergabe der Flammenzotteln an der Nackenmähne ist ohne Zweifel Ausdruck der Inventivität des Bronzebildners und dürfte als solche

dem Meister des Vix-Kraters zu verdanken sein. Sie dürfte auf die ältere Stufe seines Schaffens, der wir den Krater selbst und die zwei erwähnten Löwenhydrien zurechnen, beschränkt gewesen sein. Später hat dieses Beispiel einige Zeitgenossen (die für die Gruppe des Herakles mit dem Löwen und den drei Oinochoen mit Kuroshenkeln verantwortlich waren) angeregt.

Stufe des Kraters von Vix, hat die Nackenmähne wiederum eingeritzt (bei den Hydrien der Paestum-Sala Consilina-Gruppe); nach 550 folgt die vierte Generation, bei der die Nacken- und Kragenmähne nur noch ein abstraktes, eingeritztes Muster aufweist (s. *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 15). Auf die Bedeutung der Mähne bei den lakonischen Löwen und besonders beim Krater von Vix hatte schon Rumpf 1957, 129f. hingewiesen.

²⁵⁶ *The Sons of Hephaistos*, Kapitel II, unter Nr. 2-4 katalogisiert. Vgl. auch ebendort Nr. 8, die etwas jünger datiert ist. Wegen der Fußform sind Nr. 3 und 4 schon oben (Abschnitt III) erwähnt worden.

Auf einer jüngeren Stufe seiner Entwicklung, in der er – um 560–545 – die Hydrien mit Frauenprotome aus Paestum und Sala Consilina schuf, hat der Meister des Vix-Kraters die plastische Wiedergabe der Nackenmähne seiner Löwen aufgegeben und ist zu der einfacheren Ausführung mit eingeritzten Flammenzotteln zurückgekehrt.²⁵⁷

In einer früheren Skizze der Entwicklung des lakonischen Löwenbildes im 6. Jahrhundert habe ich nach den Vorläufern aus dem 7. Jahrhundert vier Stufen unterschieden.²⁵⁸ Die Löwen des Vix-Kraters sind dort der zweiten,²⁵⁹ die der Hydrien aus Paestum und Sala Consilina der dritten Generation zugewiesen worden.²⁶⁰ Werfen wir nun noch einen Blick auf die vierte Generation, die dem dritten Viertel des 6. Jahrhunderts zugeordnet wurde.²⁶¹ Bestimmend für die Löwen dieser Generation ist 'eine allgemeine Erschlaffung und Ausdehnung der Körperformen, die jedoch der Zierlichkeit nicht entbehren'. Als Beispiele werden genannt: einige Kessellöwen aus Olympia,²⁶² ein Löwe aus Chaironeia in München²⁶³ und zwei Exemplare, die zum Kessel aus Hochdorf in Stuttgart gehören.²⁶⁴

Claude Rolley hat einen direkten Zusammenhang zwischen dem Kessel aus Hochdorf und den Hydrien der Gruppe Paestum-Sala Consilina und dem Krater von Vix hergestellt; er schreibt sie alle der gleichen Werkstatt zu.²⁶⁵ Zwar gibt es zwischen den Löwen der Hydrien mit Frauenprotome und den Löwen des Kessels von Hochdorf²⁶⁶ gewisse typologische Ähnlichkeiten, wie etwa in der Zeichnung der Augen und der Schnauze, aber diese reichen höchstens aus, einen nicht allzu großen zeitlichen Abstand zu postulieren: Während die kleinen Löwen der Hydrien um die Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts entstanden sind, dürften die relativ großen Löwen des Kessels einige Jahrzehnte später anzusetzen sein.²⁶⁷ Neben den wenigen stilistischen Bezügen gibt es eben zahlreiche Unterschiede im Stil und in der Qualität, die eine einzige Werkstatt ausschließen.²⁶⁸ Hinzu kommen technische Unterschiede, die Rolley übersieht: Die zwei Löwen von Hochdorf, die als griechische Erzeugnisse in Betracht kommen, weisen gusstechnisch große Mängel auf,²⁶⁹ ein Umstand, der an sich schon eine Zuschreibung an die Werkstatt des Meisters des Vix-Kraters ausschließt.²⁷⁰

Dass zwei der drei Löwen vom Kessel aus Hochdorf unter lakonischem Einfluss entstanden sind, wird wohl niemand bestreiten.²⁷¹ Das ist aber nichts Ungewöhnliches für die zweite Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts.²⁷² Die Frage, wo der Kessel gefertigt wurde, lässt sich beim heutigen Stand unseres Wissens nicht anders als allgemein beantworten: irgendwo in einem peripheren Zentrum, in Griechenland oder in der Magna Graecia.²⁷³

Schlangen (Abb. 53)

Der Krater von Vix weist pro Henkel vier Schlangen auf, die mit den Armen und Beinen der Gorgonen verbunden sind: Zwei ringeln sich jeweils von hinten unter einem Oberarm des Monsters hervor und schauen den Betrachter bedrohlich an, die anderen lehnen als Ausläufer der Beine friedfertig den Kopf an die Schulter des Gefäßes. Die Köpfe unterscheiden sich durch große, leicht gewölbte Hornplatten, die mit gravierten Schuppen ausgestattet und in einigen Fällen in einen doppelt gravierten Umriss aufgenommen sind. Die Schuppen setzen sich noch ein Stück weit auf dem Hals fort. Große runde Augen befinden sich auf den Seiten der Köpfe

²⁵⁷ Vgl. die Fotoreihe bei Rolley 1982, Taf. XII.

²⁵⁸ Dazu oben Anm. 255. Zu den Vorläufern: Stibbe 1996a, 373–378.

²⁵⁹ Stibbe 1994a, 113 mit Anm. 36.

²⁶⁰ Stibbe 1994a, 112.

²⁶¹ Stibbe 1994a, 113f.

²⁶² Gauer 1991, 188f. Nr. Le 61 und Le 62, Taf. 10 (mit dem Kommentar in Stibbe 1994a, 114 Anm. 38).

²⁶³ Maass 1979, 43 Nr. 23.

²⁶⁴ Dazu weiter unten.

²⁶⁵ Rolley 1998, 713: 'Or le type des lions de haut des anses de Paestum se retrouve très précisément, agrandi à une taille exceptionnelle, sur deux des lions du chaudron de Hochdorf. Cela suffit à attribuer le chaudron au même atelier que les hydries et le cratère, ce qu'à peu près personne ne nie, quelle que soit l'opinion de chacun sur la localisation de l'atelier.'

²⁶⁶ Gut und in Farben abgebildet bei Biel 1985, Taf. 23–36 und Abb. 69–71, 1–3 nummeriert. Nr. 1 hat eine Länge von 33,8, Nr. 2 von 35,0 cm.

²⁶⁷ Eine Datierung in das fortgeschrittene dritte Jahrhundertviertel scheint durchaus annehmbar: um 530, wie Gauer 1985, 127 meint.

²⁶⁸ Man braucht nur die Ritzung und Kerbung der Kragen- und Nackenmähne der Löwen am Rande der Hydrien mit denen vom Kessel von Hochdorf zu vergleichen; auch die Form der Köpfe: hier länglich-oval, dort ein rechteckiger Umriss.

²⁶⁹ Dazu Biel 1985, 120ff.

²⁷⁰ Vgl. Rolley 1998, 731 in einem Aufsatz, in dem er gerade die 'histoire des styles' durch eine 'histoire des productions' ersetzen wollte.

²⁷¹ Gauer 1985, 129 geht soweit, den Löwen Nr. 2 einem Lakonier, den Löwen Nr. 1 wahrscheinlich einem italischen Griechen zuzuschreiben. Der Löwe Nr. 3 ist eine keltische Nachahmung, aber 'sehr viel sorgfältiger und gekonnter gegossen als die beiden anderen' (Biel 1985, 129). Vgl. auch Gauer 1991, 173 mit Anm. 550.

²⁷² Vgl. etwa die Löwen an den korinthischen Hydrien und Oinochoen, katalogisiert und analysiert in *The Sons of Hephaistos*, Chapter II, 47ff.

²⁷³ Eine Analyse der Bleifüllung des Löwen Nr. 1 ergab, dass das Blei 'aus Laurion stammt, einer bekannten Silbermine in der Nähe von Athen' (Biel 1985, 119). Könnte der Kessel auch aus Attika stammen? Die komischen Schnörkel der Flammenzotteln auf der Nackenmähne des Löwen Nr. 1 (gut abgebildet bei Biel 1985, 119 Abb. 69) verraten zwar eine ungeübte, aber immerhin eine eigenständige Auffassung des Motivs. Gerade um und nach 530 fangen die attischen Bronzebildner an, eine eigene Konkurrenz gegen Korinth und Sparta aufzubauen. Dazu Gauer 1984, 51; *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 154 Anm. 194.



Abb. 53. Châtillon-sur Seine, der Krater von Vix, Detail: Schlangenkopf.

zwischen den Hornplatten und der stumpfen Schnauze. Oben auf der Schnauze, vor den Hornplatten, ist jeweils noch eine Zone abgetrennt, in der feinste Wellenlinien eingeritzt sind. Unten ist das große Maul angegeben. Die frei schwebenden Köpfe der oberen Schlangen tragen einen Bart. Wiederum verrät sich hier die Hand des Meisters. Genaue Parallelen gibt es bisher nicht. Man kann nur sagen, dass die Form der Schlangenköpfe eine Zwischenstufe zwischen dem kurzen, breiten Typus des frühen 6. Jahrhunderts²⁷⁴ und dem schmalen, zugespitzten des spät-archaischen Typus darstellt.²⁷⁵ Eine genauere Datierung nur auf Grund der Schlangen ist nicht möglich.²⁷⁶

Sekundärornamentik (Abb. 1, 23)

Abstrakte Ornamentreihen wie solche, die sich aus Prismen, Zungen (oder Blättern), Perlen und Spiralen zusammensetzen, wurden gerne an Bronzegefäßen

und an den verwandten Tonvasen verwendet. In den meisten Fällen bilden sie den Übergang zu einem Rand, sei es an der Mündung, den Henkeln oder dem Fuß.²⁷⁷ Am Hals des Kraters von Vix fällt auf, dass der Raum über dem Aufzug der Hoplitengestalten und der Viergespanne noch von einem zusätzlichen, fast würde man sagen, überflüssigen Ornamentband in Form eines Spiralenfrieses mit Zwickelfüllung

²⁷⁴ Dazu Gauer 1991, 153 mit Taf. 36, 2, 3b; 85, 2; 86, 1; Abb. 1, 5-8.

²⁷⁵ Dazu Gauer 1991, 154 mit Abb. 1, 9, 18.

²⁷⁶ Gauer 1991, 154 datiert die Schlangenköpfe an den Krateren des Typus Vix/Trebenische in die spätarchaische Zeit. Dabei geht er von seiner Datierung dieser Kratere aus, die man jedoch weder spätarchaisch noch gleichzeitig einstufen sollte, wie ich hoffe, hier gezeigt zu haben.

²⁷⁷ Es wird hier auf eine Analyse der Zungen-, Prismen- und Perlenbänder verzichtet. Diese sehr allgemein üblichen Verzierungsbänder würden zu unserem Thema wenig mehr beitragen, als oben bereits angegeben.

abgegrenzt wird. Einzig dieses Band befindet sich – zwischen Perlenreihen – noch auf der senkrechten Wandung des Halses, während die übrigen Bänder, Zungen und Prismen zur Lippe hin plastisch abgehoben sind. Durch seine Stellung kommt dem Spiralband anscheinend eine besondere Bedeutung zu. Ohne seine Anwesenheit würde die ganze Verzierung des Gefäßes einen weniger reichen, weniger majestätischen Eindruck machen. Nicht alle erhaltenen Volutenkratere sind mit ihm ausgestattet. Er beschränkt sich auf folgende Exemplare:

1. den Krater von Vix;
2. einen Krater aus Capua (Schleiffenbaum 242, Nr. V, 6);
3. einen Krater in München (Schleiffenbaum 241, Nr. V, 5);
4. ein Randfragment aus Delphi (Schleiffenbaum 240, Nr. V, 3).

Außerdem findet sich das Motiv, abgewandelt zu einem Flechtband, auf dem lakonischen Volutenkrater aus Trebenische in Sofia.²⁷⁸ Wie Schleiffenbaum sehr wahrscheinlich zutreffend feststellt, haben die lakonischen Toreuten das Spiralband direkt von den lakonischen Reliefamphoren entliehen.²⁷⁹ Das Motiv ist an sich uralt und war weit verbreitet,²⁸⁰ aber innerhalb Lakoniens findet es sich, abgesehen von den Reliefamphoren, nur noch auf Gefäßen aus der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts.²⁸¹

Wie schon Rumpf 1954, 9f. in dieser Zeitschrift mit Recht betont hat, ist der Zungenfries (bei ihm 'der breite Blattstab') auf der Schulter des Kraters von Vix ein Merkmal, das man in der Keramik nur bei lakonischen Volutenkrateren, Dinoi, Hydrien, Oinochoen und Aryballoi so findet.²⁸²

Die Versatzmarken (Abb. 54)

Am Hals des Kraters von Vix und an den darauf befestigten Figuren sind bekanntlich Versatzmarken angebracht. Diese wurden schon vielfach studiert und interpretiert, aber auch hier ist die offensichtlich einzig richtige Deutung auf Widerspruch gestoßen. Andreas Rumpf hat als erster in dieser Zeitschrift nachzuweisen versucht, dass die Buchstaben, zumal das Sigma, lakonisch sind. Damit wäre der ganze Krater selbstverständlich als lakonisch identifiziert.²⁸³ Mit Recht weist er darauf hin, dass das Sigma in Sparta drei, vier, fünf und noch mehr Striche haben kann, ebenso wie das Iota in Korinth. 'In beiden Fällen ist der Buchstabe eine senkrecht gestellte mehrfach gebrochene Linie. Die Mindestzahl der Brüche ist zwei, also drei Hasten, eine Höchstzahl besteht theoretisch nicht...' Das Sigma auf dem Krater ist deutlich fünfstrichig. Ein fünfstrichiges Sigma weist unzweideutig auf Sparta. 'Dem steht also nicht entgegen, dass das Sigma auf der

Rückseite des an diese Stelle gehörigen Viergespannes klar vierstrichig ist.'

Trotz dieses klaren Nachweises, der von der Kennerin Lilian H. Jeffery als gültig anerkannt wurde,²⁸⁴ hat Rolley 1958, 168ff. versucht, Rumpfs Argumente zu entkräften. Zunächst gilt sein Widerspruch dem vor dem Sigma stehenden Zeichen *Qoppa*, das Rumpf als 'Rho mit eiförmigem Kopf' zweimal auf lakonischen Vaseninschriften zurückgefunden zu haben glaubte.²⁸⁵ Hier hat Rumpf sich tatsächlich geirrt, wenn er auch selbst zunächst relativierend hinzufügte, dass das Rho auf einer der besagten Inschriften (auf der Arkesilas-Schale, im Namen Irmophoros) dem Buchstaben auf dem Krater so ähnlich sehe, 'dass man es mit einem Koppa verwechseln kann'.²⁸⁶

Obchon die Verbindung mit Lakonien in diesem Fall also nicht zwingend, wenn auch grundsätzlich keineswegs ausgeschlossen ist,²⁸⁷ so bleibt das Argument der vier- und fünfstrichigen Sigmas durchaus gültig.²⁸⁸ Hinzu kommt, dass, wie Jeffery festgestellt hat,²⁸⁹ auch andere Buchstaben am Krater, namentlich das Alpha, Gamma und Delta gut lakonisch sind.

Es ist also an der Zeit, einmal deutlich auszusprechen, dass Rolleys Argumentation gegen Rumpf in Bezug auf die Versatzmarken einseitig, nur zu

²⁷⁸ *The Sons of Hephaistos*, Chapter III, 64 mit Abb. 42.

²⁷⁹ Schleiffenbaum 1991, 33ff. So schon Rumpf 1954, 10 und Hitzl 1982, 51.

²⁸⁰ P. Orlandini, *Perirhanterion fittile arcaico con decorazione a rilievo dagli scavi dell' Incoronata*, in: *Attività Archeologica in Basilicata 1964-1977, Scritti in onore di D. Adamasteanu* (1980) 190ff. mit weiterer Literatur. W. Rudolph, in: *Hesperia* 45 (1976) 240ff.

²⁸¹ *LV* 58 Nr. 19. *LBP* 1, 132 Nr. 35-36. Vgl. auch oben Abschnitt II, die Verzierung auf dem Fußfragment aus Olympia. Rumpf 1954, 10 weist mit Recht auf das ähnliche Spiralband auf dem um 600-575 datierten Castellani-Krater hin (*LBP* 1, 27f.; Pelagatti-Stibbe 1990, Taf. XIV).

²⁸² S. auch Rumpf 1957, 129. Hitzl 1982, 48. Zur Verzierung des Fußes s. Hitzl 1982, 49.

²⁸³ Rumpf 1954, 8-9. Vgl. auch Rumpf 1957, 127f.

²⁸⁴ Jeffery 1990, 191f. S. auch Rumpf 1957, 128.

²⁸⁵ Rumpf 1957, 127.

²⁸⁶ Rumpf 1954, 9. Rumpf las die Inschrift vor der Restauration. Dazu Rolley 1958, 169 mit Abb. 2-3.

²⁸⁷ S. Jeffery 1990, 192. Das *Qoppa* ist eine 'fossilized' Form, wie man sie gewöhnlich in Inschriften findet.

²⁸⁸ Rolley 1958, 170 stellt das fünfstrichige Sigma in Frage. Da es jedoch sicher fünfstrichig ist, die Hasten nur unregelmäßig gezogen sind, ist Rolleys Feststellung, dass 'toutes les lettres gravées sur le col sont moins soignées que celles que portent les sujets', eher ein Argument, das für als gegen ein fünfstrichiges Sigma spricht! S. auch Jeffery 1990, 375 zu S. 192 und Rolley 1982, 58 Anm. 129; Stoop 1964, 89ff.

²⁸⁹ Jeffery 1990, 192. Auf meine diesbezügliche Anfrage hin, hat A.W. Johnston in einem Brief vom 20.1.2000 bestätigt, dass auch er die Inschriften für lakonisch hält: 'So even despite the questionable 5-bar sigma, much does point to Lakonia.' Ich danke Alan Johnston für die Erlaubnis, ihn hier zu zitieren.

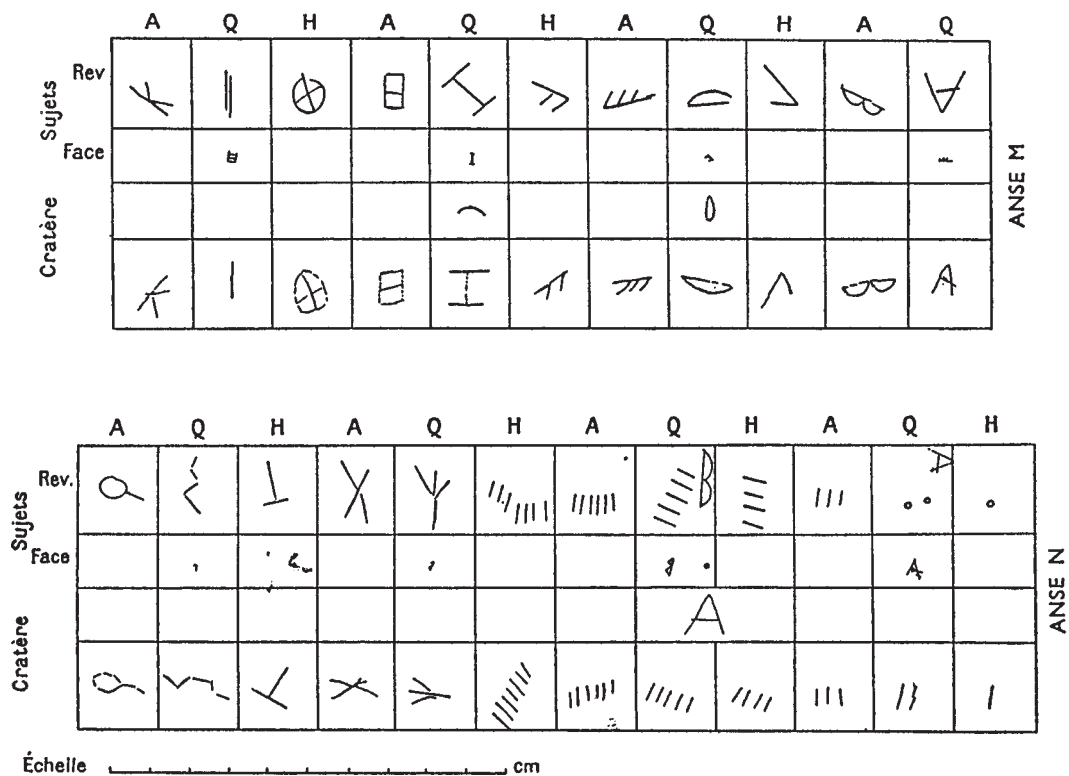


Abb. 54. Derselbe, Versatzmarken.

einem sehr kleinen Teil stichhaltig und deshalb zurückzuweisen ist.

V. ZUSAMMENFASSUNG UND SCHLUSSBETRACHTUNG

Die großen Probleme, vor die der Krater von Vix uns stellt, hängen fast alle mit der Tatsache zusammen, dass er ein überragendes Meisterwerk ist und sich deshalb den gewöhnlichen Maßstäben entzieht. Dies erklärt und entschuldigt die oft sehr weit auseinandergehenden Zuschreibungen und Datierungen, die die Forschung seit seiner Entdeckung 1953 vorgebracht hat.

Es ist eben diese hohe Qualität, die den Verfasser veranlasst, für dieses Meisterwerk einen aus der Literatur bekannten Künstler zu suchen und zwar in einer Umgebung, in die der Krater seit je von einer Mehrzahl der Forscher angesiedelt wird: nämlich in Lakonien.²⁹⁰ Dort lebte in der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts ein Künstler, der sich als Architekt des Tempels der Stadtgöttin Athena Chalkioikos auf der Akropolis von Sparta, als Bronzebildner und sogar als Dichter hervorgetan hat: Gitiadas, ein 'Michelangelo' Lakoniens. Mit stilistischen und

chronologischen Argumenten lässt sich diese Zuschreibung annehmbar machen.²⁹¹ Hinzu kommt, dass man heute nicht mehr behaupten kann, in Lakonien und in Olympia, wo die Künstler aus

²⁹⁰ Rumpf 1954, 1957. Jeffery 1961 (= 1990) 192. Kunze 1961, 175. J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas* (1964) 228. Stoop 1964, 83ff. Dies. 1985, 108ff. Johannowsky 1974, 5 Anm. 6. 10. 14 Anm. 45. Hitzl 1982, 47ff., 250ff. Nr. 12. Shefton 1989, 218 ('griechisch', mündlich: 'lakonisch'). Stibbe 1989, 64 mit Anm. 223. Ders. 1996b, passim. Schleiffenbaum 1991, 239 Nr. V, 2. Gauer 1991, 40, 95, 129, 132, 172f.

Für Korinth als Herstellungsort des Kraters von Vix haben sich entschieden:

Gjødesen 1963, 333f. Vokotopoulou 1975, 32, 106, 108ff., 122, 182 Nr. A3. Croissant 1988, 152ff. (Rolley 1994, 246 mit Anm. 8 behauptet, dass K. Wallenstein den Krater von Vix an Korinth zuweist. Das ist ein Irrtum. Wallenstein, *Korinthische Plastik des 7. und 6. Jhs. v. Christus*, 1971, 85 und 160 Nr. 6 reiht den Krater unter die fälschlich an Korinth zugewiesenen Werke' ein!).

Für Tarent haben sich entschieden: Jucker 1965/6, 72f. 107ff. Herfort-Koch 1986, 70ff.

Für Sybaris: Rolley 1982, 70f.

Für Rhegion: Vallet-Villard 1955, 50ff.

²⁹¹ Mit dem uns heute zur Verfügung stehenden Material lässt sich die Zuweisung selbstverständlich nicht im eigentlichen Sinne beweisen. Ich möchte sie jedoch als eine wahrscheinliche Möglichkeit hinstellen.

Sparta bevorzugt arbeiteten, hätten sich keine Spuren einer dem Meister des Kraters von Vix und seiner Werkstatt nahestehenden Tätigkeit gefunden. In zwei Apollonheiligtümern an der Ostküste Lakoniens sind, wie oben beschrieben, einige Vergleichsstücke zum Vorschein gekommen: ein Miniaturhoplit mit Weihinschrift (*Abb. 22*)²⁹² und die obere Hälfte eines Oinochoehenkels mit Löwenprotome und Inschrift (*Abb. 15*),²⁹³ beide aus dem Heiligtum des Apollon Maleatas beim heutigen Dorf Melana; dazu ein Spendegefäß in Form eines Pferdes mit Ausgussgefäß auf dem Kopf (*Abb. 44, 45*)²⁹⁴ aus dem Heiligtum des Apollon Tyritas, beim heutigen Dorf Tyros.²⁹⁵ Der Hoplit und das Pferd lassen sich gut mit den Figuren des Halsfrieses des Kraters vergleichen, während die Löwenprotome den Einfluss der Löwenbilder aus der Werkstatt des Meisters des Vix-Kraters verrät. Es lässt sich ferner ein Palladion aus Tegea zum Vergleich mit dem bronzenen Kultbild der Athena Chalkioikos von der Hand des Gitiadas heranziehen.²⁹⁶

Aus Olympia haben wir Fragmente eines Volutenkraters, eines Stabdreifußes und einer Hydria als Werke identifiziert, die mit dem Meister selbst oder seiner Werkstatt in Verbindung stehen.²⁹⁷

Da die Verwurzelung im griechischen Mutterland also mit hinreichender Sicherheit nachgewiesen ist, fügen sich die wie fast immer besser erhaltenen exportierten Werke des Meisters des Vix-Kraters wie von selbst in das auch sonst oft belegte Muster der Exporte aus dem Mutterland ein.²⁹⁸ Die Möglichkeit, dass lakonische Toreuten selbst gereist sind und ihre Kundschaft vor Ort bedient oder sich sogar endgültig an fernen Küsten niedergelassen haben, ist keineswegs auszuschließen, sollte aber von Fall zu Fall nachgewiesen und nicht einfach postuliert werden.²⁹⁹

Wichtig für die Zuweisung ist die unzweideutige Existenz einer bedeutenden Bronzeindustrie an dem betreffenden Ort. Eine solche ist für Sparta oder Lakonien längst nachgewiesen, zumal in der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts.³⁰⁰ Auch in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts bleibt Sparta ein bedeutendes Zentrum, aber das Monopol verliert es: Ab 550 entsteht in Korinth eine sehr geschickte Konkurrenz. Es entwickelt sich ein Mischstil, da die Korinther die verschiedenen Erfolge der Lakonier aus der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts eklektisch nachahmen. Bei diesem Mischstil fällt es manchmal schwer, die Produkte aus Lakonien und Korinth zu unterscheiden.³⁰¹ Diejenigen, die den Krater von Vix einer korinthischen Werkstatt zuschreiben möchten, sind also gezwungen nachzuweisen, dass er den besagten Mischstil aufweist. Das ist z.B. möglich im Falle des bronzenen Volutenkraters aus Trebenische in Belgrad,³⁰² beim Krater von Vix jedoch ist das meines Erachtens ausgeschlossen.

Vor ein noch größeres Problem sehen sich diejenigen gestellt, die den Krater von Vix einer unteritalischen Werkstatt zuweisen möchten. Dort nämlich hat man bisher nirgendwo – weder in der ersten, noch in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts – die Existenz einer so bedeutenden Bronzeindustrie nachweisen können, aus der der Krater von Vix hätte hervorgehen können. Sogar die Bronzeherstellung, die man nicht unlogischerweise für Spartas Tochterstadt Tarent angenommen hat, ist eine Hypothese ohne faktischen Hintergrund geblieben.³⁰³ Die Grundlage für eine Zuweisung an irgendeine griechische Kolonie, sei es in Unteritalien oder auf Sizilien oder sonst im griechischen Kolonialgebiet, fehlt bisher.³⁰⁴

Trotzdem haben einige Forscher bis heute ein Entstehen des Kraters von Vix in Unteritalien verteidigt.³⁰⁵ Einflussreich ist in diesem Zusammenhang eine Hypothese geblieben, die gleich nach der Entdeckung des Kraters aufgestellt wurde: sie besagt, dass der Krater – als süditalisches Produkt – ein ähnlicher Fall sei wie der der so genannten Chalkidischen Vasen.³⁰⁶ Die Figuren des Kraters würden die der mittelkorinthischen Keramik nachahmen; der Krater lasse sich also, wie die Chalkidischen Vasen, um 530 datieren. – Wir haben

²⁹² Dazu oben, Abschnitt IV.

²⁹³ Dazu oben, Abschnitt III.

²⁹⁴ Dazu oben, Abschnitt IV.

²⁹⁵ Zu diesen Heiligtümern s. Phaklaris 1990, 173ff. und 178ff.

²⁹⁶ Dazu oben, Abschnitt I.

²⁹⁷ Dazu oben, Abschnitt II.

²⁹⁸ Das Muster: Unteritalien ist, wie der Balkan, ein typisches Exportgebiet, z.B. für Tongefäße aus dem griechischen Mutterland. Dazu Stibbe 1992, 4 Anm. 18.

²⁹⁹ Dazu oben, Abschnitt III, mit Anm. 110–111.

³⁰⁰ Dazu *The Sons of Hephaistos*, passim.

³⁰¹ Dazu u.a. Stibbe 1997a, 46–48.

³⁰² Wie geschehen in *The Sons of Hephaistos*, Chapter III, 88–98.

³⁰³ Jucker 1966, 110f. beruft sich in der Hauptsache auf eine aus Tarent stammende weibliche Bronzemaske, die sich jedoch als eine Fälschung herausgestellt hat (dazu: W. Hornborstel, 'Maske' Tyszkiewicz, in *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* 19 (1974) 151ff.).

³⁰⁴ Die theoretische Voraussetzung für eine Zuweisung an Unteritalien ist für Rolley 1994, 303 und öfters die Annahme einer Stilmischung aus lakonischen und korinthischen Elementen, die jedoch nicht überzeugt.

³⁰⁵ Rolley 1998, 712 schreibt zum diesbezüglichen Artikel von Vallet-Villard 1955, 50–74: 'la bonne voie était ouverte par l'article de G. Vallet et Fr. Villard...'

³⁰⁶ Die Argumentation lautet: Das Profil der Mantelfrau auf dem Deckel des Kraters von Vix wiederholt das Profil der Figuren auf den Vasen der Mittelkorinthischen Periode. Das tun die Figuren auf den Chalkidischen Vasen auch, also muss die Datierung des Kraters, um 530, stimmen. Auch gibt es in der Chalkidischen Vasenmalerei genaue Wiederholungen der Hoplitenköpfe des Halsfrieses des Kraters. Die Chalkidische Keramik ist in Unteritalien zu Hause, und das trifft auch für die mit dem Krater stilistisch verbundenen Hydrien aus Paestum zu (nach der Zusammenfassung in Rolley 1998, 712).

es hier mit einem Beispiel dafür zu tun, wie man, ausgehend von einer isolierten Beobachtung, zu falschen Schlüssen kommt. Genauso gut kann man, wie auch geschehen ist, die Figuren des Kraters als zeitgenössisch mit denen der mittelkorinthischen Keramik betrachten. Dann allerdings wäre der Krater weder unteritalisch noch um 530, sondern um 575 entstanden.³⁰⁷

Ein Außenstehender wird sich wundern, dass solche weit auseinander liegenden Standpunkte überhaupt möglich sind. Das liegt zunächst, wie gesagt, an der überragenden, nicht einfach zu analysierenden Qualität des Kraters, dann aber auch an einen Mangel chronologischer Fixpunkte für das 6. Jahrhundert im Allgemeinen.³⁰⁸

Bis heute verfügte man nur über wenige Gräber, in denen Bronzegefäße und -geräte zusammen mit gut datierbarer Keramik gefunden wurden. Diese Mitfunde, meist attische schwarzfigurige Vasen, ergeben zwar einen wichtigen terminus ante quem, lassen aber einen weiten Spielraum gerade für die Bronzen, die, weil kostbar, vor der Beisetzung lange Zeit in Gebrauch gewesen sein können.³⁰⁹ Ein gutes Beispiel bietet gerade der Krater von Vix: In dem Grab, aus dem er zum Vorschein kam, fand man auch eine schwarzfigurige attische Droop-Schale, die um 530-520 datiert ist.³¹⁰ Es war also methodisch möglich, aber keineswegs zwingend, den Krater in das gleiche Jahrzehnt zu datieren. Genau das hat man aber getan, wie oben bereits erwähnt. Es gab jedoch genügend stilistischen Spielraum, den Krater ein halbes Jahrhundert früher, um 575, anzusetzen, was man ebenfalls getan hat.

Ebenso ist es den wichtigen Bronzefunden aus der Nekropole von Trebenishte (in der heutigen Republik Mazedonien) ergangen. Auch dort fand man, über wenige Gräber verteilt, attische schwarzfigurige Keramik zusammen mit einigen Bronzen.³¹¹ Das ergab für die Bronzen einen terminus ante quem von etwa 520-500. Der stilistische Spielraum war noch größer als beim Krater von Vix, aber man wagte sich nicht weit vor, da eine sichere obere Grenze fehlte. So wurde ein lakonischer Stabdreifuß aus Grab XIII um 540 datiert. Das hatte zur Folge, dass man den ähnlichen Stabdreifuß aus Metapont in Berlin als 'etwas älter' einstufte.³¹² Diese Datierungen, die auch heute noch ihre Anhänger finden, beeinträchtigen das Verständnis des chronologischen Gefüges der Bronzen im 6. Jahrhundert. Tatsächlich können jene reichverzierten Stabdreifuße stilistisch betrachtet um 570 beziehungsweise um 600-590 datiert werden.³¹³

Das Problem der oberen chronologischen Grenzen ist heute dank eines weiteren Grabfundes weitgehend gelöst. In Capua (dem heutigen Santa Maria Capua Vetere) kam ein Grabinhalt zum Vorschein, in dem

sich eine große Anzahl Bronzen, darunter zwei lakonische Hydrien und zwei Oinochoen, zusammen mit schwarzfiguriger korinthischer Keramik vom Ende der frühkorinthischen Periode befanden. 1980 nur teilweise publiziert, wurde das Material erst vor kurzem eingehender vorgestellt.³¹⁴ Die Keramik ergibt einen terminus ante quem von 595-590 für die mitgefundenen Bronzen.³¹⁵ Wichtig ist vor allem eine Hydria mit Frauenprotome der Telestas-Gruppe, die nunmehr einwandfrei um 600 datiert werden kann.³¹⁶ Die Telestas-Gruppe als Ganzes, die auch jüngere Exemplare umfasst, ist damit in das erste Viertel des 6. Jahrhunderts festgelegt.³¹⁷ Die Hydrien der Paestum-Sala Consilina-Gruppe, ebenfalls mit einer Frauenprotome am unteren Henkelansatz ausgestattet, stehen denen der Telestas-Gruppe nahe. Sie können deshalb nicht sehr viel später, höchstens um die Jahrhundertmitte, entstanden sein.³¹⁸ Damit ergibt sich von selbst auch ein chronologischer Ansatz für den Krater von Vix, der, wie oben (Abschnitt III) erörtert, stilistisch mit diesen Hydrien verbunden, aber ein wenig älter ist. Die hier vorgeschlagene Datierung des Kraters um 570-560 wird damit bestätigt.

³⁰⁷ So Gjødese 1963, passim. Der Vergleich mit gemalten Figuren ist nicht unbedenklich, da jedes Medium anderen Gesetzen unterliegt. Es gibt selbstverständlich gewisse, von der allgemeinen Entwicklung der Kunst abhängige Übereinstimmungen zwischen Bronzeobjekten, Marmorskulpturen, Terrakotten und gemalten Darstellungen. Zwischen den einzelnen Gattungen bestehen aber, schon von der Technik her, Unterschiede, die direkte Vergleiche unzuverlässig und deshalb bedenklich machen. Contra Croissant 1988, passim.

³⁰⁸ Das Bedürfnis der Forscher, ein Meisterwerk wenn irgend möglich dem eigenen Interessengebiet einzuverleiben, spielt gewiss eine Rolle, wird aber als Antrieb hier beiseite gelassen.

³⁰⁹ Die Bronzefunde aus der Nekropole von Pydna haben neuerdings dafür deutliche Beispiele erbracht: Eine lakonische Hydria aus dem ersten Viertel des 6. und eine korinthische aus dem dritten Viertel desselben Jahrhunderts kamen dort aus einer Nekropole des 4. Jahrhunderts zum Vorschein. Die Gefäße waren also sehr lange vor ihrer Beisetzung in Gebrauch gewesen. Dazu *The Sons of Hephaistos*, Chapter IV, 103ff. mit Anm. 43.

³¹⁰ S. den Katalog *Luxusgeschirr keltischer Fürsten, Griechische Keramik nördlich der Alpen* (1995) 65, Abb. 2, wo auch die zweite, schwarzgefirniste, attische Schale aus dem Grab von Vix, die um 510-500 datiert wird, aufgeführt und abgebildet ist (Abb. 3). S. auch Rolley 1999, 201.

³¹¹ Eine Lekythos in Grab VIII, zwei Lekythen und eine Droop-Schale in Grab X und einen 'Cup-Skyphos' in Grab XIII. Zu diesen Funden: *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 100f. mit Anm. 228.

³¹² Jantzen 1937, 33. Dazu Jucker 1966, 119 Anm. 390.

³¹³ Dazu *The Sons of Hephaistos*, Chapter III, S. 86.

³¹⁴ Es handelt sich um das Grab 1505 aus dem Fundort 'Località Fornace'. Johannowsky 1980, 447ff. Stibbe 2000, 4-15 mit Taf. 1-4.

³¹⁵ Stibbe 2000, 6 Anm. 11.

³¹⁶ Stibbe 2000, 7 Abb. 2, 9f. Taf. 1, 5-6, 2, 1-3.

³¹⁷ Stibbe 1992, 11ff. (Group C).

³¹⁸ Zur Datierung um 555-545 s. ferner Stibbe 1992, 16ff. (Group F).

Der chronologische Fixpunkt 595-590 für die Bronzen aus dem Grab 1505 von Capua erlaubt es also, sich ohne Vorbehalt von der üblichen Spätdatierung des Kraters von Vix und seiner Verwandtschaft zu verabschieden.

Nun, da wir das einmalige Mischgefäß für Wasser und Wein, das aus dem Grab einer keltischen Prinzessin bei Vix in Frankreich (Cote-d'Or) zu Tage kam, in die Umgebung und die Zeit, in denen es geschaffen wurde, zurückgeführt haben, wäre der Augenblick gekommen, ihn als künstlerische Leistung, als kulturhistorisches Phänomen und als Exportprodukt zu würdigen. Diese schöne Aufgabe jedoch, die mehr Raum und Zeit, als jetzt und hier verfügbar ist, beanspruchen würde, bleibt der Zukunft vorbehalten.

ABKÜRZUNGEN

Außer den in den Abkürzungsrichtlinien des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts festgesetzten werden hier noch folgende Abkürzungen verwendet:

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Landscape archaeology and Livy: Warfare, colonial expansion and town and country in Central Italy of the 7th to 4th c. BC.

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THE AIM OF THIS PAPER

The aim of this paper is to compare the present state of archaeological knowledge of the landscape of Central Italy between the 7th and the 4th c. BC with the way the Central Italian landscape is depicted in Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* books I-X, in which Livy relates the story of early Rome and its expansion.* The early expansion of Rome was directed at the neighbouring proto-urban settlements along the Tiber, the area of the Veientes to the northwest of Rome on the right bank of the Tiber in South Etruria, the Roman Campagna south of the Tiber and the adjacent Pontine Plain further south. The Roman historians referred to the latter two areas as 'Latium Vetus'. Over recent decades, large parts of both South Etruria and Latium Vetus have been the subject of substantial landscape-archaeological projects (Enei 1993; Carafa in prep.; Attema 1993), while current projects aim at synthesizing existing data, notably the Tiber Valley Project in South Etruria (Patterson and Millett 1998) and the Regional Pathways to Complexity Project (Attema et al. 1998a and b). Their results allow tentative socio-economic and political interpretations of the settlement and land-use patterns identified in these landscapes, that relate to the formative period of Roman power between the 7th c. and the 4th c. BC (as, for instance, described in Cornell 1995).

However, it is not my intention to test topographical and historical particulars in Livy's narrative against the wealth of new archaeological data derived from landscape-archaeological projects; both the archaeological and the ancient literary sources are too ambiguous for that. A quote from the article 'Illusion and reality in Latin topographical writing' by Nicholas Horsfall may serve to underscore this. The quote concerns a warning by Horsfall against the use of Livy as an interpretative guide in topographical research. He writes that 'the attempt to bring Livy and Virgil into a state of agreement with the terrain causes particular alarm; for it is an easy but very dangerous step from exploring the countryside of Italy yourself to assuming that Livy or Virgil likewise thought it their business to explore the ground in their narratives' (Horsfall 1985, 197). Yet we should not forget that

topographical investigations of the historical landscape have been a fashionable and very fruitful practice in the past, which has furnished us with a good idea of the ancient topography of Central Italy. Modern excavation and surveying have over the years added considerable physical detail to the literary classical landscape of Central Italy. The archaeological record now shows us that Livy's war-ridden landscapes of the early Roman expansion between the 7th and the 4th c. BC may have been there *in reality*. The physical structure of the Etruscan and Latin city-state organization existed in the landscape and the communities inhabiting town and country were indeed socially stratified and included a warrior-class of aristocratic stock. Such data should not merely serve as a static geographical and socio-economic backdrop to the history of early Rome, but should be used to activate a chronological model of interaction between the perennial Central Italian landscape, a medium-term history based on archaeological data and Livy's history of events in the Braudelian sense (cf. Bintliff 1991, Knapp 1992).

AN OUTLINE OF THIS PAPER

In my contribution I shall first outline the shift in interest in topographical studies from the early days of historical cartography to modern surveying practices. This development has seen the disappearance from the academic agenda of topographical information present in the ancient sources as a means to contextualize the archaeological data in a historical sense (cf. Cambi and Terrenato 1994). Likewise, attempts at using data from landscape archaeology to contextualize the ancient literary sources in a socio-economic and geographical sense are now scarce for Central Italy (but see e.g. de Neeve 1983). Attempts at accommodating events can be said to be non-existent. Nevertheless, human actions taking place in the landscape are omnipresent in Livy's books I-X, in the form of military campaigns involv-

* Translations used of Livy's books I-X were those by A. de Sèlincourt (1960) and B. Radice (1982).

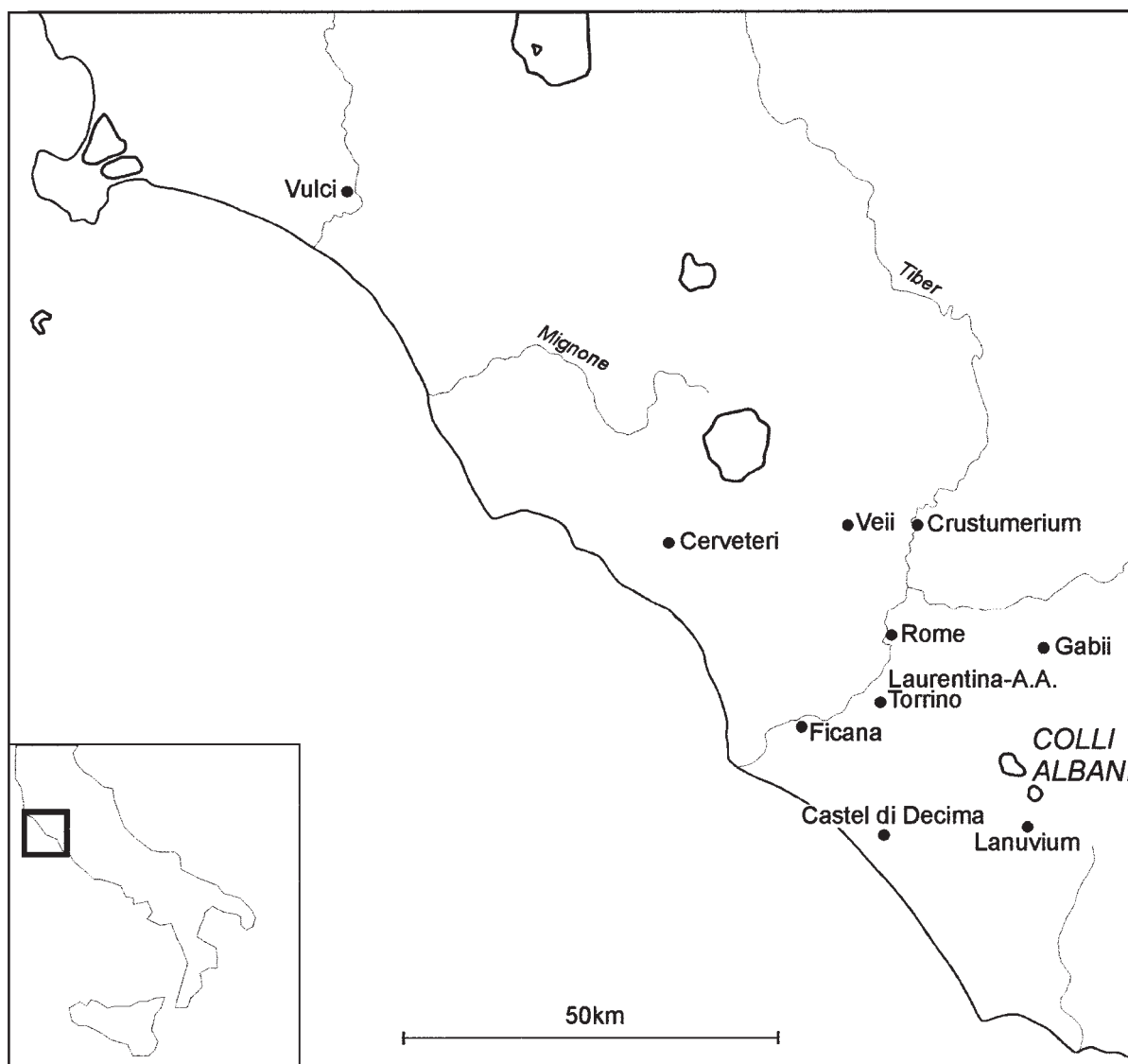


Fig. Sites mentioned in the text.

ing Rome and her neighbouring city-states, and in the form of raids undertaken by inland mountain folk on the farmland in the plains. Both excavation data from sites and regional settlement data from intensive surveying show that Livy's scenario of recurrent warfare between city-states and the devastation of farms and cropland was by no means unlikely, despite Livy's frequent use of *topoi* and rhetoric. Landscape archaeology and excavations have shown that under the monarchy and in early Republican times substantial settlements were

evenly spread over the landscapes of South Etruria and Latium Vetus. Archaeologists and ancient historians agree that these settlements can be interpreted in economic terms as proto-urban centres and politically as city-states, while convincing evidence for an economically well-developed and socially stratified countryside has emerged from settlement-pattern analysis of survey data and excavations of rural architecture. A short review of the available data will serve to illustrate this. Furthermore, the social and geographical analysis of burial mounds

(*tumuli*) indicates that in the 7th c. BC an 'aristocracy' developed that can be related to ownership of land in both the countryside immediately surrounding the proto-urban settlements and land in the periphery of city-state territories.

From the available data it appears that we should envisage the communities living in the Central Italian landscape of the 7th and 6th centuries BC as part of an early urbanising society that was spatially and politically structured in autonomous city-states and their territories. Livy's narrative indicates that the proto-urban society of Central Italy was under constant internal and external threat of warfare brought about by rival city-states and inland mountain peoples that were attracted by the prospering lowland settlements. As Victor Davis Hanson has argued in his book (1998 [1983]) on warfare and agriculture in Classical Greece, in societies organised along these lines, war is likely to have been endemic. This would also hold for Republican Italy, according to T.J. Cornell. This author states that 'Under the Republic, therefore, warfare was part of the normal experience of all Italians, and was embedded in the fabric of their society' (Cornell 1995, 122). It is at this point that I would like to make archaeology's socio-economic history converge with Livy's political history and human drama.

This paper, then, is not so much concerned with the role of Rome in the period of early Roman expansion and colonization, as with an attempt at bringing together two currently unrelated classes of data that in 19th-century scholarship used to be closely linked.

FROM RENAISSANCE HISTORICAL CARTOGRAPHY TO MODERN SURVEY PRACTICES

In the wake of Renaissance cartography, scholars like W. Gell and A. Nibby started at the beginning of the 19th c. to systematically document archaeological remains in the field, a tradition which culminated in the work of such scholars as Marie-René de la Blanchère, the French topographer of the Pontine Region, and Thomas Ashby, the topographer of the Roman Campagna (e.g. Cambi and Terrenato 1994, Attema 1993). De la Blanchère worked at the turn of the 19th c. and Ashby in the first decades of the 20th c. at a time when Central Italy still had a predominantly rural and pastoral character and modern urbanization had not yet revealed the enormous number of archaeological sites that we now know of. One of the major concerns of these scholars was the identification of sites mentioned in the ancient sources with sites in the con-

temporary landscape. Although Horsfall (1985, 199) states that 'no expectation existed in Augustan Rome that the geographical information contained in a work of literature should be precise' and that 'items of apparent geographical information in, for example, Virgil and Livy cannot be treated by topographers, archaeologists and historians as facts, as being in themselves substantive pieces of information', partially successful attempts were made at the cartographical identification of sites mentioned in the ancient literary sources. By treating the more obvious geographical information contained in the ancient sources as facts, topographers and cartographers were the first to recreate the literary landscapes of the ancient writers in coherent, though far from geographically exact, cartographical images (Attema 1999). They were the first to provide ancient toponyms with spatial correlates. Their maps meant the start of a long tradition of 'pasting' ancient place names onto sites and features in the landscape, be it often without sound reference to any actual archaeological remains. But even today attempts are being made to equate topographical information in the ancient sources with archaeological sites in the contemporary landscape that lack direct evidence in the form of epigraphy.

In the case of Latium Vetus, present-day South Lazio, the general point of departure in topographical studies is Pliny's statement that 53 peoples of Latium Vetus had disappeared from the face of the earth 'without leaving any traces' (Plin. NH 3. 69). A good number of sites mentioned in the ancient sources have over time been plausibly identified, a fair number of proposed identifications are still doubtful, and identification of a number of others must remain purely hypothetical (Attema 1993, 60-65). In the days of de la Blanchère and Ashby, South Etruria and Latium Vetus were only sparsely settled, and it was hard to imagine that Latium Vetus in Archaic and Roman Republican times had ever known a flourishing population of country dwellers. The 19th c. settlement density may not have been all that different from the extent to which the landscape in Imperial times was settled, given the fact that in both periods much land was given over to *latifundiae* at the expense of small-holders. Indeed, de la Blanchère for example surmised that probably each of the small *borghi* (walled-in settlements) of his day concealed an ancient settlement. A fact is that there were hardly enough settlements in the contemporary landscape to fit the image that Livy, Plinius, Strabo and other authors painted of Latium Vetus in the Archaic and Roman Republican period, let alone archaeological remains!

The modern urbanization schemes and agricultural reforms of the 60's and 70's changed this situation

dramatically, as these prompted excavations of known protohistoric sites and brought many new Archaic and Roman Republican sites to light (cf. Quilici 1979). It is these excavations that have proved the reality of the Latin city-states of the Archaic period. Thanks to intensive fieldwalking programmes, the archaeological data on the distribution of sites in the landscape now by far exceeds the topographical information contained in the ancient texts. We may conclude that the current situation is the reverse of that of the days of de la Blanchère and Ashby. There is now much more archaeology than the written sources indicate, allowing a deeper understanding of the structuring principles of Archaic society. Modern survey techniques even give us insight into the way those parts of the landscape functioned that were peripheral to the larger, central settlements. Through environmental reconstruction we also have obtained a specific knowledge of the physical landscape in antiquity, an element that in the majority of the ancient sources is clearly of minor interest. This wealth of data allows us to accommodate Livy's narrative in an archaeological setting that does justice to a literary quality of Livy's books I-X, described in the next paragraph, that so far has been underrated.

Those acquainted with the landscapes of Central Italy will probably agree that, when reading Livy's books I-X, we do feel that Livy's protagonists move in a real environment. Livy offers us enough topographical detail to give us a sense of familiarity with the places he mentions, while providing enough sense of distance and time to make us believe that his protagonists fought their battles on historical ground. We are lured into this by his skilful use of *topoi* and factual information regarding the lie of the land and the people moving in it. Horsfall (1985, 205) is right in stating that: 'In the absence of a precise and universally accepted system of orientation, of the means to measure height, distance, or angles with exactitude, of any serious cartography, and, lastly, of the vocabulary which would have enabled historians of the Roman world to describe places at all coherently, even had they the science and technology to comprehend their outlines accurately [...] then we should perhaps marvel that Roman authors preserved any exact topographical indications which we can today relate to our precisely arithmeticized world-view (Horsfall 1985, 205).

And this we definitely should admire when reading Livy's account of the early Roman expansion in the first ten books of the *Ab Urbe Condita*. Anyone acquainted with the archaeology of the Archaic Etruscan and Latin city-states and the regional archaeological data sets that we now have at our disposal, may tentatively relate Livy's scenario of early

Roman expansion to the actual settled landscape of antiquity and may in his mind even include the human drama that was enacted by warring parties and their leaders who engaged in the burning of farms and the devastation of cropland to provoke and challenge their adversaries. This was certainly part of the Archaic world-view.

LOOTING THE ARCHAIC COUNTRYSIDE

In treating the wars of early Rome with her neighbours, Livy systematically relates how warring parties used to lay waste each other's countryside. In recounting the fictional story of Rome's military and political achievements during the reign of Romulus, Livy records how Veii sent a raiding force into Roman territory: 'It was not an organized movement; the raiders took up no regular position, but simply picked up what they could from the countryside and returned without waiting for counter-measures from Rome' (Liv. I. 15). Livy tells us how during the wars with the Volscians, Sabines, and Aurunci in 495 BC, 'news arrived one night that a Sabine raiding party had penetrated as far as the Anio (the river Aniene), where it was burning farms and looting over a wide area'. Resistance to the Roman troops who hurried to the scene was however very weak since 'no doubt they were tired by their long march and their nocturnal activities – most of them, too, were sodden with drink and swollen with food which they had stolen from the farms – and they hardly had strength enough even to run away' (Liv. II. 27). In the context of Coriolanus' March on Rome in 491 BC, the laying waste of the countryside is depicted by Livy as a deliberate strategy rather than an act of raiding: 'Finally he [Coriolanus] marched on Rome and took up a position by the Cluilian Trenches five miles outside the walls. From here he sent out raiding parties to do what damage they could to the farms and crops' (Liv. 11. 38). Although the raiding of the enemy's farms and crops is a familiar *topos* in the context of military campaigning, Livy was well aware that peasant farming had a long tradition in Central Italy. The fact that he (anachronistically) projects land distributions as far back as the regal period underscores this (cf. Liv. 1. 45, in which Servius Tullius 'to conciliate the good will of the commons' distributes land captured in war among private smallholders). Land distribution as a result of successful warfare and a way to appease the common people is a recurring theme in Livy's account, and the very fact that Livy projects this pivotal issue in the socio-economic structure and political life of Republican Rome back to the regal period, may indicate the

important role that the availability of arable land played in early Roman society.

From the above quotations it appears that Livy depicts the countryside of archaic Lazio as dotted with farmsteads. In the contested regions of Central Italy, appropriation of land by means of warfare and raiding of the countryside, either for mere plunder or as a deliberate strategy to weaken the towns dependent on the countryside, were regular phenomena. Of course this is not to say that Livy was in a position to know what the countryside in the Roman Suburbium or in the Pontine Region would have looked like in Archaic times, but a developed countryside certainly wouldn't have seemed strange to his readership. In Livy's days the environs of the early colonies of Signinum, Norba, and Circeii were densely occupied with Republican and early Imperial villas, as surveys demonstrate, and a long tradition of rural occupation of these and other parts of the Central Italian landscape would probably not come as a surprise.

How should we envisage the countryside in the period covered by Livy's books I-X on archaeological grounds? Was Livy's scenario of the Archaic landscape as a rural landscape dotted with farms far off the mark?

It was not. Archaeological research has shown that around the Archaic towns in South Etruria and in Latium Vetus a developed countryside indeed came into existence in the 7th and 6th centuries BC. This is attested by regional surveys and topographical research as well as by excavation of rural sites. The presence of rich tumulus graves in the countryside of the 7th c. BC, as well as the differentiation in the rural architecture of the later 6th c. BC furthermore indicates that we should not think in terms of peasant farming only, but must assume that the rural population was stratified and that possession of land already was a source of social and economic power. A second reason why Livy's scenario seems plausible is the fact that warfare is indeed likely to have been endemic in the Archaic period, just as it was in Greece (Cornell, 1985, 121-122).

In the introduction of his book on warfare and agriculture in Classical Greece, Victor Davis Hanson states that in Greek society 'most Hellenes were farmers, war was endemic, and the energies of the citizens were largely consumed with either working, protecting, or attacking cropland'. This is also very likely in the case of the Etruscans and Latins, as 'ravaging of cropland was central to warfare of most societies of the past' (Hanson 1998, 1-2). Destroying crops could be a means of provoking the enemy into leaving the protection of the town walls and meeting in pitched battle.

THE ARCHAIC LANDSCAPE; THE COUNTRYSIDE FILLING UP IN THE 7TH AND 6TH C. BC

South Etruria

One of the best archaeological documentations of the Archaic rural countryside of South Etruria comes from Flavio Enei's research activities in the *Ager Caeretanus* around ancient Caere, carried out between 1985 and 1988 (Enei 1993). Caere is the Etruscan name for present-day Cerveteri, about 40 km NW of Rome on the Tyrrhenian coast. It flourished in the 7th and 6th centuries BC, controlling, according to Enei, a vast and very fertile territory of about 1500 km² between the coast and the mountainous interior. Caere's territory bordered on the territories of those two other potent city states Veii and Tarquinia. Enei explored an area of about 400 km² south of Caere covering the various geographical units characteristic of the South Etrurian landscape: the inland mountains, the limestone hills, the volcanic tuff plateaux, the deep river valleys, and the sedimentary coastal zone.

Enei's field-walking programme was conducted according to modern survey standards, taking into account surface visibility and present-day land-use. The resulting distribution maps show how in the Iron Age (9th-8th c. BC) only the river valleys and the tuff plateaux in the vicinity of Caere were inhabited, while the map for the 7th and 6th centuries BC shows a proliferation of sites all over the research area. The development of the countryside coincides with the growth of Caere into a flourishing urban nucleus. Enei relates the observed increase in sites in the research area to demographic growth and a systematic colonization of new territory. The survey revealed 113 rural sites from the 7th and 6th c. BC over the various geographical units. Starting in the 7th c. BC, the process accelerated in the 6th c. BC. On the most fertile soils, sites were spaced between 150 and 200 m apart, which, according to Enei, even prompts a hypothesis of early land division (Enei 1993, 35).

The archaic Etruscan rural sites were represented as scatters of ceramics and building materials of, on average, 600 m². These are thought to belong to farmsteads, envisaged as small buildings with a square or rectangular ground plan measuring between 20 and 50 m², with walls of loam and tuff and/or limestone and possibly a foundation in *opus quadratum* and with a tiled roof. A typical inventory would consist of storage jars, cooking stoves, loom weights, grinding stones, reddish brown *impasto* pottery and bucchero. Sporadically also black- and/or red-figured Attic ware was recorded. Amphorae would be of Etruscan, Phoenician/Punic

and maybe Samian and Corinthian provenance. Remarkably, site density diminishes in the late Etruscan period (in the course of the 5th and 4th c. BC), though as Enei concedes, this may be related to difficulties in pottery dating; too many sites may have been assigned to the preceding period. At times small necropoleis associated with the rural dwellings were found, comprising less than 10 graves. These underscore the small scale of the rural settlements. Also Marco Rendeli in his study of the territories of Vulci, Tarquinia and Caere acknowledges the general filling up of the landscape in South Etruria in the Orientalizing period, stating that 'le trasformazioni osservate a partire dall'orientalizzante antico coincidono con la formazione dei centri interni, le prime forme del popolamento delle campagne, la capillare organizzazione del paesaggio'. But he emphasizes the different organization of each territory, which he in all three cases plausibly analyses as being dependent on natural, geographical and environmental factors in combination with specific human choices. It leads him to the conclusion that 'ogni città, di area etrusca, ma anche laziale, ha una sua organizzazione e un suo sviluppo che la rende diverse dalle altre' (Rendeli 1993, 371). In his view the sometimes rigid application of socio-economic and political models fails to do justice to the diversity of the Archaic landscape. This is an important piece of criticism regarding especially the political landscape of Archaic Central Italy, as both for Etruria and Lazio quite mechanistic applications of Renfrew and Cherry's (1986) peer-polity model have been proposed. In a general sense, however, the filling-up of the 7th and 6th c. BC countryside of Caere, as described by Enei, may be held representative also of the territories of the other South Etrurian city-states. Besides Vulci, Tarquinia and Caere, this also holds for Veii, Rome's powerful opponent in the early Republican period. Timothy Potter's surveys in the Ager Veientanus around Veii (Potter 1979, 83-101) and the survey by Andrea Zifferero in more remote areas in the territory of Veii (Zifferero in Coccia et al. 1985, 522) attest to this.

We may conclude, then, that the archaeological evidence convincingly shows that large parts of the Archaic landscape of Etruria was settled farmland. Farms were to be found both near the main towns and farther away in newly colonized territory. In the latter case we probably have to think in terms of isolated clearings in the natural landscape.

Latium Vetus

The settlement trends identified by Enei and others in the protohistoric and early historical period in

South Etruria are echoed in Latium Vetus by various regional studies carried out in the vicinity of Rome and in the Alban hills. The topographical study by Lorenzo Quilici and Stefania Quilici Gigli of Crustumerium and its territory on the east bank of the Tiber is a good example to start with (Quilici and Quilici Gigli 1980).

Crustumerium is situated on a hill on the edge of the Tiber valley, about 15 km to the north of Rome. It acquired proto-urban status in the mid 7th c. BC as a result of a process of nucleation that had started in the early Iron Age. According to the authors 'Il fermento allora in atto è indicato sul luogo dell'abitato da un ampliamento delle aree di materiale fittile già note e dall'afficarsi di nuove, che accennano a saldare i due maggiori aggregati già esistenti al centro e nella zona meridionale della futura città' (Quilici and Quilici Gigli 1980, 278). This is the period, they remark, in which Tarquinius Priscus, according to Livy, conquered Crustumerium. Livy relates that 'One town after another was attacked and taken: Corniculum, Ficulea, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, Nomentum, all of them settlements either of the ancient Latins or of people who had joined their cause' (Liv. I, 38, 1-4). At the end of the Orientalizing period a network of central-place settlements had indeed come into existence in Latium Vetus, each developing a rural territory of its own. The extent of these central places as well as the networks of minor sites in their territories grew in the Archaic period, as is clear from the distribution maps by Quilici and Quilici Gigli 1980. Both the size of the minor settlements in the territory of Crustumerium and the absolute number of sites increased. Looking at the protohistoric summary map of Quilici and Quilici Gigli of the territory between the Tiber valley and the Alban hills, we see a landscape filled up with large and small sites starting from the hills bordering the east bank of the Tiber north of Rome right up to Gabii. Recent surveys by the Archaeological Service of Rome in collaboration with the Sapienza University at Rome now concentrate on the northern Suburbium (Carafa in prep.).

The large-scale filling-up of the landscape in the late protohistoric period, as seen in the example of Crustumerium, is a general trend also in the proto-urban core areas of Latium Vetus, i.e. the Roman Campagna south of the Tiber and the area around the Alban hills up to the Pontine Plain. For the former, the results of the surveys carried out in the Malafede area between the proto-urban Latial settlements of Ficana and Castel di Decima may serve as an example (see references in De Santis 1991, 102 and fig. 7). For the latter area, the results of surveys of the Pontine Region Project in the territory

of Lanuvium (Attema 1999 and Attema in prep.) and the compilation of data concerning the Orientalizing and Archaic periods by Pino Chiarucci and Franco Arieti furnish the evidence (Chiarucci 1996 and Arieti 1996). Farmland was even to be found in the peripheral areas of the Archaic Latin landscape, for example along the east side of the Monti Lepini bordering the Pontine Plain and in the Sacco valley (Attema and van Leusen 1999).

We may conclude then, that Livy was quite right in depicting the countryside of South Etruria and Latium Vetus as well-developed rural landscapes and that his scenario of warbands devastating cropland and pillaging unprotected hamlets and farms is a possible one.

What was the nature of social organisation and landownership in the countryside and what did the farms look like? We shall start with a short discussion of the latter.

RURAL ARCHITECTURE OF THE ARCHAIC AND EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIODS

In his article 'Caratteri degli insediamenti rurali nell'Ager Romanus tra VI e III secolo a. C.', Gabriele Cifani collects the currently available evidence on rural architecture in a wide area around Rome. Combining data from survey scatters and excavated sites, he arrives at a preliminary classification of rural sites of the late 6th c. BC into three categories (Cifani 1998, 54). His type-I settlements are clusters of small, permanent buildings of one room only, about 20 to 50 m² in size. The Archaic structures of Torrino serve as excavated examples (Bedini 1984a). Cifani interprets the majority of small rural settlements found in, for example, Enei's (1993) surveys as belonging to this type. Cifani's type-II sites represent structures with stone foundations and tiled roofs that have three to five connected rooms, covering a surface of 120 to 300 m². Examples are the Archaic structures at Acqua Acetosa Laurentina (Bedini 1978), the late Archaic phase at Torrino (Bedini 1984), and the earliest phase of the recently excavated Auditorium villa dated to the late 6th c. BC (Carandini et al. 1997). The Auditorium villa has an elaborate plan with rooms on three sides of a courtyard. The complex even in its earliest phase measured about 300m², but in the Republican period it was to develop into a villa complex of about 1000 m². The second phase of the Auditorium villa (late 6th, early 5th c. BC) belongs to Cifani's type III, which comprises large structures dedicated to the exploitation of large estates. The rooms are organized around a central courtyard and have a partly agricultural and partly residential function.

Their size is between 600 and 1500 m². Other examples are of a later date, such as the 4th-3rd century phase of the villa at Grottarossa that was built on a smaller, 300 m² farm from the late Archaic period (Stefani 1945). As an example of the spread of type III in the Republican period, Cifani refers to the villa 'al 14mo chilometro della Via Gabina' published by M. Aylwin Cotton (1979) with two phases dating to the 3rd c. BC.

Although the data are limited in number, Cifani's overview clearly shows that there was a hierarchy in the rural sites of the Archaic period. It clearly was not only poor peasants that lived in the countryside, although they will have made up the majority. Besides those living in type I and II farmsteads, there was a 'classe gentilizia' who owned large farmhouses and who controlled extensive estates in the countryside. The roots of socio-economic inequality and incipient forms of landownership in the countryside may be traced back to the Orientalizing period.

BURIAL MOUNDS AS INDICATORS OF LAND OWNERSHIP IN THE 7TH C. BC.

At the fourth Conference of Italian Archaeology in 1990 the issue of landownership in 7th c. BC and Archaic South Etruria and Lazio was confronted by both Andrea Zifferero and Anna De Santis in two thought-provoking papers that built on the theories Alessandro Bedini put forward on this theme in publications of 1984 and 1985. Andrea Zifferero in his discussion of forms of landownership in relation to Orientalizing tombs in central Tyrrhenean Italy (Zifferero 1991) gives us various instances of relationships between the archaeological evidence and the ancient literary sources. He confirms that current historiographical research acknowledges the existence of 'agri gentilicii' controlled by an aristocracy in the period preceding that of landownership based on Roman law (Zifferero 1991:109 referring to Capogrossi Colognesi 1988, 266 ff.). Furthermore, on the basis of the literary sources he believes it is legitimate to read the tumulus graves as territorial markers and expressions of aristocratic power in the countryside of the 7th c. BC (Zifferero 1991, 110 referring to Morris 1987, 46 ff.). In his paper Zifferero presents us with distribution maps of tumulus graves occurring outside the proto-urban cemeteries of the Etruscan and Latial proto-urban settlements. He shows that these tumuli generally were located along the ancient roads leading to the settlements and that they usually remained within a radius of 4 km of the town's centre, but sometimes were located slightly further away. Their distinctly

isolated location would strongly enhance their monumental function and their function as a statement in the landscape to express power relations. Such statements were not restricted to the countryside immediately surrounding the major settlements.

In her article on landownership and territorial control in the Orientalizing period Anna De Santis (1991) discusses the – in 1991 still preliminary – data furnished by systematic surveys on the right bank of the Tiber and the subsequent excavations that were carried out there by the department of prehistory and protohistory of the Archaeological Superintendency of Rome. In her paper she argues that the archaeological data from this area testify to a process of intensive colonization of agricultural land in the territory of Veii during the 7th and 6th centuries BC. Veii's territory according to the ancient sources extended as far as the banks of the Tiber. This would be quite plausible, given the occurrence in the survey area of several small settlements, possibly single farms with their cemeteries. This observation tallies with those from the surveys in Etruria and Lazio discussed above.

De Santis notes how tumulus graves may also be located well away from the major settlements, which in her opinion prompts hypotheses concerning landownership and territorial control in the wider countryside. The cemetery of Pantano di Grano is such a 'rural' cemetery. It consisted of four graves (two chamber tombs and two fossa graves) with grave goods dating to the middle-Orientalizing and Archaic periods (De Santis 1991, 93). Although some graves may have perished as the result of a local land improvement scheme, De Santis is certain that Pantano di Grano was a small 7th and 6th c. BC cemetery that belonged to a single family of aristocratic stock. Besides the small number of graves, also the proximity of the graves to each other, the presence of numerous ornaments of precious metals in the graves and the preference for cremation of a male person in one of the tombs lead her to this conclusion. The remains of a probably corresponding settlement were found nearby. De Santis links the Pantano di Grano case to a pattern that emerges from the wider survey area around Rome, marked by an increasing number of small settlements and rural cemeteries on both banks of the Tiber. In the majority of cases this concerns small nuclei that correspond to family groups (*gentes*), although also small villages occur (ca 1 ha.). The latter are located in strategic positions with regard to vital routes or rivers. This pattern, De Santis states (while referring to Bedini 1985) 'fornisce un indizio concreto dello stretto legame tra i ceti emergenti, la comparsa e il consolidamento dei quali sono il risultato di un lungo processo di stratificazione all'interno della società laziale e villano-

viana, e il possesso della terra, che costituiva la base economica del loro ruolo preminente nelle comunità di questo periodo' (...provides us with a concrete indication for the strong relationship between an emergent class society, the appearance and consolidation of which is the result of a long process of stratification within Latial and Villanovan society and landownership, which constituted the economic basis of their pre-eminent role in the communities of that period). This evidence does not stand alone. Also from the Alban hills there is evidence of isolated groups of aristocratic graves. Franco Arieti, in his discussion of the Alban peoples and their territory in the 8th and 7th centuries BC, likewise alludes to the importance of aristocratic graves as indicators of landownership in his study area (Arieti 1996, 31-33). Fairly recently a number of isolated graves and small groups of graves along the rim of the Alban were identified. Some of these graves contain parts of chariots and these clearly must be associated with aristocratic members of the Alban communities. The relevance of these tombs is twofold, Arieti states. On the one hand they prove the formation of 'gruppi gentilizi' also in the Alban area, while on the other hand their spatial distribution indicates that this must have been a phenomenon affecting all of the territory of the volcanic Alban hills. Also Arieti is of the opinion that the aristocracy associated with these finds based their power on landownership and control of the means of production. The presence of weapons in a fair number of 7th c. BC graves is indeed an indication that we are dealing here with warriors who in the course of that century must have evolved into a prominent class in Central Italian society. However, the near-absence of formal burials in the 6th c. BC in Latium Vetus leaves us with a great deal of uncertainty about the continuation of this class. A systematic comparative study of this phenomenon on the basis of analyses of both Latial and South Etrurian cemeteries is needed here.

WARFARE AND RURAL DEVASTATION

Summarizing, we may state that, allowing for specific local conditions, the development of town and country in Central Italy from the Orientalizing to the early Republican period may, on the basis of the archaeological evidence presented above, be depicted as a steady process of urban growth, a filling up of the rural landscape and social stratification in both town and countryside. In the period of the 5th and 4th centuries BC, Roman colonization was extended to new territories that were peripheral to the Central Italian proto-urban heartlands, notably the Pontine Region and the Sacco valley. This internal colo-

nization of the proto-urban core areas in South Etruria and Latium Vetus and the colonization of new land in the Pontine Region and the Sacco valley provides a socio-economic background, against which we may try to accommodate Livy's narrative on early Rome's expansion and colonization. According to Livy, the political events of the 7th to 4th centuries BC were characterized by wars between Romans, Etruscans, Latins and Volscians and other mountain folks. The individual city-states of Central Italy played a central role in these, either as allies or enemies of Rome. In military campaigns, the devastation of the countryside of one's adversary was, as we saw, an important means to harm the enemy and to challenge him to leave his fortifications and appear in open battle. We may wonder what were the effects of the almost continuous warfare on socio-economic developments in Central Italy?

The archaeological data indicate that there was indeed enough farmland in the Archaic and early Republican countryside of lowland Central Italy for the raiding parties to attack and devastate. Cifani notes that Livy uses the word 'villa' in at least ten instances in his report on the events of the 6th to 4th c. BC. In most cases this is in the context of the pillaging of the countryside on the part of the Romans, the Sabines and other peoples (Cifani 1997, 55). These are *topoi*, of course, and the use of the word 'villa' is anachronistic, but still, the strong emphasis in Livy on the ravaging of the countryside remains. What were its effects? Victor Davis Hanson's analysis of the devastation of Attica suggests that it is very hard to inflict lasting damage through the spoiling of crops. The damage brought about by the five Peloponnesian invasions during the Archidamian war (431-421 BC) and the subsequent Dekeleian war (413-403 BC) in his view failed to ruin the agrarian infrastructure of Attica. During the latter war the Peloponnesians even held the farmland of Attica under constant threat from a fort they built at Dekeleia within sight of Athens. Hanson's study (1998, 15-16) leaves us with five generalizations (here quoted in italics) about ancient farming and its role during wartime that we may evaluate in terms of their applicability to the Central Italian situation;

1. *Permanent agricultural devastation of crops is difficult, and so not usually in itself the cause of economic crises.* The medium-term economic history of Central Italy as based on the archaeological data of the 7th to 4th centuries BC does not suggest that economic crises occurred in this period, although profound social transformations did take place (Carafa in prep.)
2. *The ritualistic nature of crop ravaging in relationship to hoplite battle should be seen as part*

of the Greek protocols of warfare. Livy does indeed describe this practice, as in the instance quoted earlier when I referred to Coriolanus' March on Rome in 491 BC. We may of course be dealing here with a *topos*, but as Cornell (1985, 184) affirms, it is reasonable to assume that 'hoplite weaponry and the tactical use of the phalanx' were well established in Central Italy by the 6th century BC.

3. *Trees and vines are hard to destroy systematically, whereas the complete destruction of crops like grain by trampling or burning is for various reasons difficult to achieve.* Hanson adds here that 'such generalizations apply to other military theaters and histories of the Mediterranean as well' and so this will also apply to the Central Italian situation.
4. *Rural impoverishment and depopulation during periods of war were often more insidious processes – the results of infrastructure and labor power losses, taxation, and general periods of banditry and unrest – than the immediate consequence of invading armies that destroyed trees, vines and cereals.* Warfare in the context of early Roman expansion may indeed have led to a temporary local decline in productivity, but the practice of sending contingents of colonists to conquered territory will, as a rule, have made up for that.
5. *Because most of the population of Greece was rural and engaged in agriculture, and because the Greeks saw warfare as the decisive experience of the citizenry, any analysis of farming and fighting of the city-state is nothing more than a valuable reflection of the culture at large.* Although the ancient literary sources are not explicit on this subject as regards the Italian situation, the existence of a warrior class in the Orientalizing period, as is apparent from the funerary ritual in the 7th c. BC, shows how fighting was already an integral part of the Italic culture before the army became organized in the 6th c. BC.

It may be concluded then, that Livy's scenario of fighting and looting the countryside does not contradict the spatial and socio-economic development of Central Italy but, as Hanson states 'is nothing more than a valuable reflection of the culture at large' and thus indeed part of the Archaic world-view.

EARLY COLONIZATION IN THE PONTINE REGION AND SACCO VALLEY

In his account Livy makes it sufficiently clear that the early Roman colonization was not a peaceful process, but one characterized by continuous warfare and devastation of the countryside around the

Latin and Etruscan towns. Deliberate acts of colonization in new territory were part of the expansion process, but hard archaeological evidence for the historicity of early Roman colonisation under the monarchy in the advanced 6th c. BC in South Lazio, as reported by Livy, is hard to give (cf. Attema forthcoming). In fact there is a general consensus among ancient historians that the sending of contingents of Roman colonists out into the Lepini mountains in this early period belongs in the realm of 'mythistory', while 5th c. BC colonization is generally accepted as historical fact. The general process of settlement expansion taking place in Central Italy in the 7th and 6th centuries BC as documented by the various projects I have mentioned does furnish a context that may explain the 6th c. BC acts of colonization, as reported in Livy, as reminiscences of gradual territorial expansion during the Archaic period. In other words it may simply have been a form of population pressure from the proto-urban core areas towards the periphery. For South Lazio we have good evidence that settlements expanded along the margins of the Lepine hills into the Pontine Plain. The evidence comes in the form of small hilltop settlements in the Lepine foothills and isolated or clustered farmsteads on the slopes (Attema & Van Leusen 1999). Moreover, surveys both by our Italian colleagues and by ourselves in the Ager Signinus on the east side of the Monti Lepini attest to the existence of a well-developed settlement system in the Archaic period (Cassieri and Lutazzi 1985, 1988; Enei *et al.* 1990). Livy's claim that these areas in the margins of the city-states became subject to settler colonization on the part of the Romans in the 5th and 4th centuries BC, seems to be archaeologically corroborated by the existence of such fortified sites as *Signium* and *Norba*. It concerns a mode of colonization involving strongholds intended to control the surrounding countryside and the vital communication routes. Surveys by the Pontine Region Project in the territory of Setia (present-day Sezze), the third fortified Roman town in a row of three on the west side of the Monti Lepini, indicate that there was indeed an influx of people in this territory in the 5th and 4th centuries BC (Attema *et al.* 1996-1997, Attema in prep.). The sharp increase of sites in previously only marginally used fields in the colony's territory suggests that here we have incoming people who started to cultivate the plain more intensively.

The archaeological data thus indicate that the Latin city-state civilization from the 6th c. BC onwards already exerted a considerable pressure on landscape units that lay in the margins of the city-state territories. The areas where expansion took place, however, had quite a different environmental and socio-economic configuration with probably quite different

means of subsistence and mentality. The Lepine mountains are rugged and steep terrain, while the Pontine plain was partially marshy. Conflicts between incoming groups of farmers and the local inhabitants and other users of the uplands and plains must have been unavoidable. It is within this context of expanding settlement areas and early attempts at colonization in new territory that we should read the often hostile dealings that the Romans and Latins had with the inland mountain peoples on which Livy reports, and which in Livy is an important source of his human drama. Mountain tribes may well have had their winter pasture in the Pontine Plain, as we also know from sub-recent practice (Attema *et al.* 1998, 358-369).

We have already pointed out how the availability of cropland is likely to have been a major incentive for colonization. According to Livy this already was the motor behind the earliest attempts at Roman expansion during the regal period. In an anachronistic passage on the regal period he states that (Liv. I. 56); 'It was Tarquin's view that an idle proletariat was a burden on the state, so in addition to the major works I have mentioned [viz. public works carried out by the proletariat in regal Rome], he made use of some of the surplus population by sending out settlers to Signia and Circeii [two early colonies in the Sacco valley and the Pontine Region respectively]. This had the further advantages of increasing the extent of Roman territory and of providing points of resistance against future attack, either by land or sea'. In a general way, Livy's scenario of this dearth of land fits the developments that topographical investigations and intensive surveys have documented over the last decades in this part of Central Italy, while the very presence of Roman colonies in the 5th/4th c. BC landscape attests to the historical reality of the later colonial episode.

CONCLUSION

In this article, I set out to explore the potential of relating the themes of warfare and colonial expansion in Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* to the landscape-archaeological record in an attempt to create a richer and in the future hopefully truly interdisciplinary history of the expansion of early Rome. Methodologically this was done by reconstructing the socio-economic background of towns and countryside in the period of the 7th to the 4th c. BC, inasmuch as this can be derived from the current archaeological data provided by landscape archaeology. Developments in the organisation of the landscape and society of South Etruria and Lazio have been presented in a very generic way at the risk of oversimplification, and need refining. In line with Rendeli's observa-

tions in South Etruria, my own research in Latium Vetus too indicates that local environmental, socio-economic and historical conditions strongly determine the pace and nature of developments in the organisation of the landscape and society of this region. And judging from Livy's account of the early expansion of Rome in Central Italy, historical contingency will certainly have played its part on the level of individual territories.

It follows, then, that this paper should be regarded as an exercise in combining two sets of disparate data within a Braudelian framework and as a starting point for more detailed research. And while we may never be able to document Coriolanus' March on Rome archaeologically, it is worthwhile to evaluate the socio-economic and geographical context in which Livy's narrative of Archaic warfare and raiding is set and to invest it with meaning, as such making landscape archaeology relevant to ancient history and vice versa.

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Differenze di *gender* nelle necropoli arcaiche della zona medio-adriatica italiana

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INTRODUZIONE

La zona medio-adriatica d'Italia è rimasta finora relativamente sconosciuta nell'archeologia internazionale. Questa mancanza d'interesse è forse dovuta al fatto che la zona non ha conosciuto una vera e propria fase proto-urbana ed è rimasta, per molti aspetti, relativamente arretrata rispetto ad altre zone d'Italia nello stesso periodo. Ma proprio la relativa estraneità della zona medio-adriatica ai grandi processi culturali della prima Età del Ferro, ha consentito lo sviluppo di una cultura sostanzialmente omogenea con connotazioni ed espressioni strettamente locali.

La cultura medio-adriatica¹ conosce nel periodo arcaico poche testimonianze figurative. Le fonti letterarie sono altresì scarse e di epoca più recente, fatta eccezione per qualche breve iscrizione funeraria. Per mancanza di strutture abitative tramandateci, gran parte delle nostre conoscenze di questa cultura è basata su dati funerari. Il contenuto e l'estensione delle pubblicazioni sulle necropoli medio-adriatiche differiscono però in maniera rilevante. Gli scavi di alcune necropoli sono stati pubblicati in maniera esauriente, mentre di altri si hanno solo dati frammentari concernenti il numero delle tombe scoperte e i corredi delle medesime. Ma anche se l'attenzione dell'archeologia funeraria pre-romana si è concentrata – nel passato come in tempi più recenti – sulle zone dell'Italia meridionale e centro-tirrenica, nel corso del '900 sono stati realizzati diversi scavi e importanti ricerche proprio nella zona medio-adriatica.

In tutte le tombe e le necropoli venute alla luce durante questi scavi, vi sono alcuni elementi che colpiscono maggiormente l'attenzione: la chiara differenza fra corredi maschili e femminili, l'esuberanza degli ornamenti in molte tombe femminili e la disposizione delle tombe all'interno delle necropoli, le quali sembrano, in alcuni casi, raggruppate a mo' di 'clan' o famiglia allargata. Questi ed altri aspetti si prestano ad una ricerca più approfondita sulle differenze di *gender* in questa cultura. *Gender*, inteso come la posizione ed il ruolo sociale di ambedue i sessi, costituisce un importante elemento della identità sociale di un individuo. Il concetto di *gender* si

differenzia da quello di sesso biologico per il fatto di non essere statico ma di dipendere da altri fattori quali età, *status* sociale e la cultura stessa di un popolo. I dati funerari forniscono importanti indicazioni sulla ideologia di *gender* relativa alla zona medio-adriatica durante il periodo arcaico; pure con tutti i problemi legati alla interpretazione dei dati funerari, nel rito funerario² si ritrovano esplicite manifestazioni degli attributi di *gender* dei defunti. Nel presente contributo verrà condotta una breve discussione su alcune necropoli della odierna regione Abruzzo. Tratterò, in successione, le necropoli di Alfedena, Campovalano di Campli, Loreto Aprutino, Capestrano, Atri ed Opi (fig.1).³ La scelta di queste necropoli è stata condizionata da un lato, dalla accessibilità delle relative pubblicazioni, dall'altro, dalla loro databilità nel periodo arcaico. Nel descrivere le necropoli dedicherò particolare attenzione ai tipi di sepoltura, all'orientamento ed alla distribuzione delle tombe nell'area sepolcrale, ai dati demografici⁴ ed ai corredi in relazione al sesso dei defunti. Seguirà una analisi comparativa tra le diverse necropoli, basata principalmente su alcuni aspetti di sesso e di *gender*. La trattazione si concluderà con il tentativo di formulare alcune conclusioni provvisorie riguardanti il ruolo e la posizione sociale delle donne in questa cultura.

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¹ Secondo alcuni studiosi 'cultura picena'. Per questa discussione sulla denominazione della cultura, v. Cianfarani 1970, 9 e Landolfi 1988, 316.

² Inteso sia come ubicazione e architettura delle tombe, che come contenuto delle stesse, cioè, gli oggetti di corredo.

³ Per rendere possibile un paragone tra le diverse necropoli, ho cercato di presentarle in maniera più omogenea possibile. Vista però la eterogeneità delle pubblicazioni relative alle necropoli qui discusse, non è sempre stato possibile trattare tutti gli elementi di tutte le necropoli in maniera esauriente. Per questo stesso motivo non è stato possibile riassumere i dati concernenti i corredi delle tombe delle diverse necropoli all'interno di tavole sinottiche.

⁴ Per quanto disponibili.



Fig. 1. Distribuzione delle necropoli discusse. Adattata da: Cianfarani 1969, 2.

LE NECROPOLI

Alfedena

La necropoli di Alfedena è stata in uso sin dall'inizio dell'Età del Ferro fino al III sec. a.C. La maggior parte delle circa 1500 tombe vanno datate nel periodo arcaico.⁵ Come nelle altre necropoli abruzzesi dello stesso periodo, tutte le tombe sono ad inumazione.

In linea generale, nel periodo arcaico è possibile identificare due tipi di sepoltura: fosse terragne, a volte delimitate sul piano di inumazione da un semplice perimetro di pietre, sul quale appoggiavano probabilmente delle tavole che costituivano la copertura della tomba, e tombe a cassone costituite da lastroni di pietra calcarea o, a volte, arenaria. Questi

⁵ Mariani 1901a, 396-404.

lastroni si trovano lungo le pareti e al di sopra delle tombe, quest'ultimi con chiare funzioni di copertura. Il tipo di sepoltura 'a fossa terragna' con perimetro di pietre è considerato il tipo più antico.⁶ Circa un settimo delle tombe, di entrambe i tipi, presenta un ripostiglio, all'interno o al di sopra della tomba stessa, nel quale si trovano in genere due vasi: solitamente una olla più un'oinochoe oppure un'anforetta. Probabilmente questi vasi venivano usati per una libagione rituale durante la cerimonia funebre, oppure, nei casi in cui il ripostiglio si trova all'esterno della tomba, per un banchetto funebre. Per ciò che concerne la disposizione delle fosse, non è stato possibile riconoscere un orientamento costante.

Gli oggetti che costituiscono i corredi funerari sono sostanzialmente omogenei. Questo fatto potrebbe essere interpretato, da un lato, come indizio di un periodo di utilizzazione piuttosto breve della necropoli – il che non appare così probabile, visto il numero elevato delle tombe –, o, dall'altro, come indizio di un atteggiamento 'conservatore' della popolazione locale, sia nei costumi funerari che nella cultura materiale. Nei corredi abbondano soprattutto i vasi d'impasto di fattura locale e in misura minore il vasellame metallico; armi di ferro e di bronzo, e fibule ed ornamenti realizzati in bronzo, ferro, ambra, avorio e pasta vitrea. Un ornamento particolarmente interessante rinvenuto con frequenza nella necropoli di Alfedena, è la *châtelaine*: un ornamento pettorale costituito da catenelle o placchette di bronzo, spesso terminanti con pendagli a battocchio o a spirale. Le armi ricorrono soltanto nelle tombe maschili; gli oggetti ornamentali – fatta eccezione per gli anelli, le torques e qualche bracciale – soltanto nelle tombe femminili.

La distribuzione delle tombe

Nella discussione sulla distribuzione delle tombe occorre fare innanzitutto una distinzione tra gli scavi che sono stati eseguiti negli anni '70 del '900 sotto la direzione di Franca Parise Badoni e Maria Ruggeri Giove, e gli scavi eseguiti alla fine del '800 da Vincenzo de Amicis e Lucio Mariani.

Durante gli scavi degli anni '70 sono state portate alle luce circa 132 tombe.⁷ Sulla base della distribuzione topografica, queste tombe sono state suddivise in due gruppi, all'interno dei quali sono disposte in circoli più o meno concentrici (fig. 2).⁸ In questi gruppi si distinguono tre fasi cronologiche.⁹ Le fasi più antiche – e, nel contempo, spesso le più 'ricche'¹⁰ – si trovano di solito al centro del gruppo. Di queste tombe alcune sono munite di un ripostiglio (di cui sopra). E' probabile che ogni gruppo rappresentasse un 'clan' o una famiglia allargata che continuava a seppellire i propri defunti nella stessa area della necropoli per diverse generazioni.

Le differenze riscontrabili tra il primo ed il secondo gruppo sono notevoli. Nel primo gruppo vi sono sia fosse terragne semplici¹¹ che tombe a cassone, mentre il secondo gruppo si caratterizza per la presenza esclusiva delle tombe a cassone e di una piazzola centrale lasciata deliberatamente vuota,¹² la quale risulta praticamente assente nel primo gruppo. Inoltre esistono elementi di differenziazione anche in relazione ai dati demografici¹³ ed ai corredi funerari. Nel primo gruppo ci sono 25 tombe maschili e 23 tombe femminili. Ci sono due tombe di bambini e cinque tombe delle quali non è stato possibile stabilire né l'età, né il sesso dei defunti. Il secondo gruppo si compone di 31 tombe maschili, 19 tombe femminili, 14 tombe di bambini e due tombe non classificabili.¹⁴ In nessuno di questi gruppi, però, le tombe sono disposte in funzione del sesso o dell'età dei defunti. Esiste poi un'ultima serie di tombe scavate in diretta prosecuzione delle precedenti,¹⁵ sulle quali non è stata effettuata l'analisi osteologica.

Nel primo gruppo, le armi non fanno mai parte del corredo maschile. Nel secondo gruppo invece in alcune tombe maschili le armi risultavano presenti, ma soltanto nelle tombe che occupavano una posizione centrale all'interno del gruppo e/o erano munite di il ripostiglio e/o contenevano degli oggetti di corredo più ricchi della media. Gli uomini di questo 'clan' rappresentavano probabilmente un'aristocrazia guerriera all'interno della comunità locale.

Risulta evidente, nel 'clan' del secondo gruppo, la preponderanza del sesso maschile rispetto a quello femminile. Questa preponderanza potrebbe trovare spiegazione nel fatto che soltanto le donne che

⁶ Mariani 1901a, 402 e Parise-Ruggeri 1980, XLV, nota 106.

⁷ Bedini 1975 e Parise-Ruggeri 1980.

⁸ Inizialmente si distinguevano tre gruppi (v. Parise-Ruggeri 1980). I gruppi 2 e 3 (sulla pianta indicati come il gruppo 2) erano probabilmente all'origine gruppi distinti, ma in una fase più tarda si avvicinano e formano poi un unico complesso. Parise-Ruggeri 1982, 35-36.

⁹ Queste fasi vanno datate tra la fine del VI-l'inizio del V sec. a.C. V. Parise-Ruggeri 1982, 28-38.

¹⁰ Il concetto di 'ricchezza' è da intendersi riferito, da un lato, alla particolare tipologia degli oggetti; dall'altro, all'accumulo degli oggetti stessi. Non è possibile, vista la grande varietà degli oggetti di corredo delle necropoli qui discusse, definire in maniera univoca il concetto di 'ricchezza'. In linea generale, quindi, un corredo 'ricco' va inteso come un corredo che appare più ricco della media sulla base degli elementi sopra nominati.

¹¹ Di queste tombe sono rimaste soltanto vaghe tracce. Sono escluse dal numero complessivo di 132 tombe.

¹² Quantomeno nella fase iniziale, quando il secondo gruppo consisteva ancora di due circoli distinti.

¹³ E' stata eseguita l'analisi osteologica sulla maggior parte dei resto ossei rinvenuti durante questo scavo.

¹⁴ V. anche la tavola sinottica dell'appendice.

¹⁵ L'incompletezza dei dati di scavo relativi a quest'ultimo gruppo di tombe, mi ha indotto ad escludere le stesse dall'analisi qui condotta.



Fig. 2. Pianta della necropoli di Alfedena – scavi 1974-1979. Adattata da: Parise-Ruggeri 1980b.

facevano parte dell'aristocrazia locale venivano sepolte all'interno del clan, mentre gli uomini venivano comunque sepolti all'interno del clan, anche se non appartenenti alla 'aristocrazia guerriera'.

Complessivamente lo stesso modello di sepoltura è rintracciabile negli scavi che sono stati eseguiti ad Alfedena alla fine del '800. In alcuni casi, gruppi di tombe sono situati entro circoli di pietre.¹⁶ Nel descrivere uno di questi circoli, Mariani usa le seguenti parole: *'E da notare la curva colla quale [le tombe] sono disposte in circolo, seguendosi l'un l'altra nella massima dimensione.'*¹⁷ La descrizione del Mariani ci permette di affermare che ci troviamo in presenza di un gruppo di tombe del tutto simile al secondo gruppo degli scavi più recenti, cioè fatto di circoli sostanzialmente concentrici. In questo gruppo, che consisteva di 22 tombe, sono state identificate otto tombe maschili, una tomba femminile, nove tombe di bambini e quattro tombe delle quali risultò impossibile stabilire il sesso e l'età dei defunti. Tutte le tombe maschili dentro le quali sono state ritrovate delle armi (sei su otto), erano munite di ripostiglio, così come l'unica tomba sicuramente femminile. E' notevole il commento di Mariani su questo gruppo: *'Salta subito all'occhio la preponderanza del sesso maschile, specialmente a confronto col gruppo precedentemente studiato,'*¹⁸ *nel quale mancano affatto tombe con armi che qui sono frequentissime.'* La affinità con i due gruppi degli scavi più recenti è

evidente: anche negli scavi del Mariani abbiamo a che fare con gruppi con armi nei quali prevalgono di gran lunga le tombe maschili, e gruppi senza armi dove la divisione dei sessi è approssimativamente uguale.

Altrove nella necropoli sono stati identificati altri due gruppi attorno ai quali il circolo di pietre era ancora ben visibile (fig. 3)¹⁹. I circoli di questi ultimi gruppi sono tangenti (una situazione analoga a quella del secondo gruppo degli scavi più recenti, che originariamente consisteva anch'esso di due gruppi quasi tangenti). I dati demografici di questi due circoli possono essere riassunti nel modo seguente: il circolo di pietre che si trova più in alto sulla pianta conteneva undici tombe delle quali sei maschili, due femminili e tre di bambino. Sia le tombe maschili che quelle femminili di questo gruppo, e persino una delle tombe di bambino, avevano il ripostiglio. Il gruppo di tombe compreso nell'altro circolo conteneva otto tombe delle quali una maschile, due femminili, due di bambino e due delle quali non è stato possibile stabilire né il sesso,

¹⁶ E' probabile che originariamente esistessero più circoli, ma che siano stati distrutti da lavori agricoli.

¹⁷ Questo circolo si trovava nella zona A, della quale la pianta non è stata pubblicata. V. Mariani 1901b, 445/446 e De Amicis 1901, 458-462.

¹⁸ Non meglio specificato.

¹⁹ Zona D IV, esplorazione del 1898.

- tomba femminile
- △ tomba maschile
- × tomba infantile

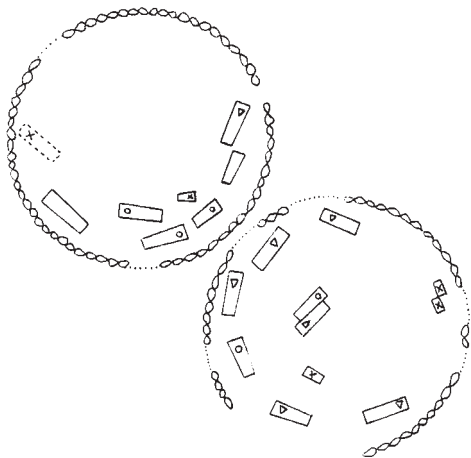


Fig. 3. Pianta della necropoli di Alfedena – scavi fine '800. Scala mancante. Adattata da: Mariani 1901a, tav. X.

né l'età dei defunti.²⁰ Delle tombe di questo gruppo, una tomba maschile ed una dal sesso sconosciuto erano munite di ripostiglio.

In conclusione, per quanto riguarda la distribuzione topografica delle tombe nella necropoli, si può dire che non esisteva una vera e propria regolarità: alcune tombe sono raggruppate in circoli più o meno concentrici, mentre altre sono disposte in file parallele o dentro un circolo di pietre. Ci sono chiare concentrazioni di tombe e fasce di terreno quasi completamente sterili. Le concentrazioni di tombe stanno probabilmente ad indicare l'usanza di sepoltura a clan o famiglia allargata, dove uomini, donne e bambini si trovavano gli uni accanto agli altri. All'interno di questi gruppi di tombe si possono riconoscere differenze di ricchezza abbastanza chiare. Inoltre, i gruppi mostrano anche elementi di differenziazione gli uni rispetto agli altri, i quali sono con buona probabilità riconducibili al diverso rango sociale dei rispettivi clan. In linea generale pare che le tombe femminili siano alquanto sottorappresentate.²¹ Il numero delle tombe di bambino è piuttosto ridotto per una società protostorica, posto che il tasso di mortalità infantile di queste società si attesta solitamente intorno al 45 %.²² Ciò induce a ritenere che,

quasi sicuramente, la gran parte dei bambini sia sepolta altrove.

Gli oggetti di corredo in relazione al sesso dei defunti

La ceramica e il vasellame metallico ricorrono in ugual misura nelle tombe maschili e femminili. La ceramica è stata ritrovata all'incirca in metà delle tombe scavate; il vasellame metallico è più sporadico e si trova di solito nelle tombe più ricche. Le fibule ricorrono quasi sempre nelle tombe di ambedue i sessi, in uno o più esemplari, ma la tipologia è più ristretta nelle tombe maschili.²³ Circa la metà delle tombe femminili presentava al suo interno oggetti di ornamento. Alcune di queste tombe presentavano un livello di ricchezza estremamente alto e contenevano, oltre agli ornamenti, della ceramica, delle fibule e talvolta del vasellame metallico. Tra le tombe più ricche, alcune presentano un ripostiglio dentro o al di fuori della tomba. La presenza del ripostiglio è in generale più diffusa nelle tombe maschili, e, raramente, ricorre anche nelle tombe di bambino. Se ammettiamo che lo *status* sociale del defunto, oltre che nei corredi venisse anche espresso tramite la presenza o la assenza del ripostiglio, è particolarmente interessante che, a quanto pare, più uomini che donne godevano di uno *status* sociale elevato. Piuttosto insolita risulta la presenza di coltelli in alcune tombe femminili, come ad esempio in una ricca tomba femminile del primo gruppo degli scavi degli anni '70.²⁴ La presenza di un coltello all'interno di una tomba femminile è spesso messa in relazione ad una possibile funzione rituale della donna stessa nelle attività culturali.²⁵ Vista la posizione centrale della tomba nel gruppo, gli oggetti di corredo estremamente ricchi e la presenza del ripostiglio, e quindi la probabile posizione sociale elevata di questa donna, il significato di questo coltello va presumibilmente collocato nel contesto di una sua funzione culturale anche in questo caso. A prescindere da qualche fuseruola e qualche raro coltello, non sono stati ritrovati degli oggetti che evidenzino una chiara distinzione nei ruoli femminili.

Riassumendo, per quanto riguarda le tombe femminili, sembra possibile riconoscere ovunque nella necropoli un ridotto numero di tombe femminili le

²⁰ Mariani 1901a, 598-618. Le attribuzioni del sesso sono di Parise-Ruggeri (1980, XXXV).

²¹ V. Parise-Ruggeri 1980, XIII/XIV.

²² V. K.W. Beinhauer, *Untersuchungen zu den eisenzeitlichen Bestattungsplätzen von Novilara*, Frankfurt am Main 1985, 409.

²³ V. Parise-Ruggeri 1980, XIII/XIV.

²⁴ Questa tomba (nr. 30) è anche l'unica tomba femminile del gruppo munita di ripostiglio.

²⁵ Bietti Sestieri 1992, 107.

quali presentano degli elementi caratteristici che le distinguono dalle altre tombe. Tali elementi consistono nella presenza del ripostiglio, nel numero elevato degli oggetti di corredo e/o nella presenza di oggetti di corredo più ricchi della media, oppure nella presenza di oggetti straordinari, quali coltelli o grandi vasi di bronzo. Si tratta quasi sempre di una sola tomba a gruppo²⁶ e, per quanto si sappia, di donne di età avanzata.

Campovalano di Campoli

La necropoli di Campovalano (*fig. 4*)²⁷, scavata sotto la direzione di Valerio Cianfarani e dagli anni '80 in poi di Vincenzo D'Ercole, è stata in uso dalla fine dell'Età del Bronzo fino al periodo romano. Allo stato attuale, il numero delle tombe scoperte è di 605,²⁸ ma il numero complessivo di tombe dev'essere stato di migliaia.²⁹ Il periodo di maggior fioritura delle necropoli risale al VIII-VI sec. a.C. (i periodi orientalizzanti ed arcaici). Le tombe di questo periodo sono, senza eccezione alcuna, ad inumazione. A volte la testa dell'inumato era protetta da lastroni messi verticalmente lungo le pareti della tomba.³⁰ In molti casi, in luogo dei lastroni, si trovano grandi sassi fluviali lungo le pareti della tomba, i quali servivano come sostegno per le assi di legno che coprivano la tomba. In alcune di queste tombe i sassi erano collocati a formare una falsa volta. Ripostigli del tipo ricorrente ad Alfedena non ve ne sono, però dentro o accanto a pressoché tutte le tombe sono state rinvenute grosse olle, a volte protette da sassi o lastroni di pietra. L'orientamento delle tombe orientalizzanti ed arcaiche è prevalentemente E-O.

I corredi consistono soprattutto di ceramica di impasto buccherioide di fattura locale,³¹ spesso di forma complessa e ricca di decorazioni; ceramica di imitazione etrusca e ceramica e vasellame bronzeo di importazione, soprattutto etrusca. Inoltre, nelle tombe femminili, si trovano molti ornamenti e fibule di materiali diversi quali ambra, avorio e pasta vitrea e le caratteristiche placche di cinturone o *stole*;³² le tombe maschili si contraddistinguono soprattutto per la presenza di armi.

La distribuzione delle tombe

Nella necropoli si possono individuare alcuni nuclei dove le tombe si trovano più concentrate; si tratta però sempre solo di poche tombe. Lo schema di distribuzione topografica è meno chiaro che non ad Alfedena.

Sedici gruppi di tombe risultavano delimitati, sul piano di campagna d'allora, da cerchi di pietre con un diametro variante dai quattro ai 25 metri. Probabilmente queste pietre formavano il perimetro di tumuli, come è dimostrato da uno scoloramento

nerastro della terra attorno ai cerchi.³³ Il numero delle tombe all'interno di un tale cerchio varia da uno a otto. Non è possibile riconoscere alcuna uniformità attinente al sesso ed all'età dei defunti sepolti all'interno dei cerchi contenenti più di un individuo. Ricorrono tutte le combinazioni: uomini con uno o più bambini (che possono essere sia maschi che femmine), donne con uno o più bambini, solamente bambini o solamente adulti di ambedue i sessi. Soltanto due cerchi potrebbero, in ipotesi, aver contenuto una 'famiglia nucleare'.³⁴ Tutti i cerchi dentro i quali si trova una tomba sola, sono tombe infantili.³⁵ Il diametro del cerchio varia a seconda del sesso del bambino defunto: le femmine si trovano all'interno di un cerchio di circa quattro metri di diametro, mentre le dimensioni del cerchio maschile vanno dagli otto ai nove metri.³⁶ In tre casi sono state scoperte tombe delimitate da due cerchi di pietra, anziché uno. Due di queste tombe erano altresì tombe infantili.³⁷ Il motivo della presenza del secondo cerchio rimane per ora sostanzialmente sconosciuto. Si è pensato ad un ampliamento del primo cerchio, ma in nessun caso sono state ritrovate tombe nello spazio compreso tra il primo ed il secondo cerchio di pietre. La presenza di un doppio cerchio potrebbe inoltre trovare spiegazione nella volontà di consolidare il primo tumulo, oppure nel riconoscimento di un maggior grado di onorificenza al defunto. Contrariamente alle aspettative, le tombe che si trovano all'interno di un cerchio non sempre sono più ricche di oggetti rispetto alle altre tombe della necropoli.

²⁶ Nel primo gruppo la tomba 30, nel secondo gruppo la tomba 93 e la tomba 104 (che originariamente faceva parte di un altro gruppo) e nel gruppo trovato nella zona A di Mariani la tomba LVIII. V. Bedini 1975, Parise-Ruggeri 1980 e Mariani 1901b, 461.

²⁷ La pianta, con tombe che vanno dal VII al II sec. a.C., è incompleta. Le tombe allineate lungo la strada vengono per la maggior parte datate nel periodo romano.

²⁸ Ancora non tutte inserite nella pianta di *fig. 4*.

²⁹ D'Ercole 1996b, 158.

³⁰ Zanco 1974, 10.

³¹ Soprattutto olle e pissidi. V. Cianfarani 1978, 240-260.

³² Queste placche di bronzo sono state interpretate come le estremità di lunghe strisce di cuoio o stoffa, che venivano portate sulle spalle a mo' di sciarpa. V. Cianfarani 1978, 279-282.

³³ D'Ercole 1996c, 172.

³⁴ Il cerchio con le tombe 166, 165, 162 e 167 e il cerchio con le tombe 75, 38, 81 e 82. In una fase più tarda, quest'ultimo viene tagliato dalle tombe 76 e 80.

³⁵ D'Ercole 1983, 479. Non è però impensabile, che questo sia da imputare a una documentazione statisticamente limitata.

³⁶ Tombe femminili: 41, 47, 207, 212, 214 e 300. Tombe maschili: 112, 122 e 164. D'Ercole 1996c, 172. Vale però anche qui, che questa differenza può essere imputata ad una documentazione statisticamente limitata.

³⁷ Le tombe 41 e 122. Lo stesso fenomeno dei cerchi tombali doppi, spesso contenenti dei bambini, è conosciuto anche a Tolentino. Zanco 1974a, 173.



Fig. 4. Pianta della necropoli di Campovalano di Campli. Scala mancante. Adattata da: D'Ercole 1996, 166/167.

Il tipo di sepoltura adottato non conosce notevoli distinzioni per sesso. Le dimensioni delle tombe sembrano più da mettere in relazione alla ricchezza del defunto: le tombe più grandi sono spesso quelle con una maggior ricchezza di corredo.³⁸ Non ci sono zone della necropoli riservate ad un sesso piuttosto che ad un altro; pare però esserci una leggera tendenza a collocare le tombe infantili le une vicino alle altre – a volte persino risalenti a epoche diverse.³⁹ Nella necropoli sono state identificate circa duecentocinquanta tombe collocabili nel periodo orientalizzante/arcaico e così classificate: circa cento tombe maschili, cinquanta tombe femminili, cinquanta tombe infantili ed una cinquantina di tombe indeterminabili.⁴⁰ Degno di rilievo appare il fatto che, per quanto riguarda le tombe infantili, quelle di sesso femminile sono presenti in numero tre volte superiore rispetto a quelle maschili. Questo fatto risulta ancora più interessante se messo in relazione ai dati relativi alle tombe di soggetti adulti: qui il rapporto tra tombe maschili e tombe femminili risulta praticamente inverso posto che le tombe maschili rappresentano circa il doppio delle tombe femminili. Può tuttavia ipotizzarsi che la notevole sproporzione esistente nell'ambito delle tombe infantili (maschili e femminili) sia solo apparente. In effetti essa potrebbe trovare spiegazione nella considerazione che le tombe infantili femminili contengono meno oggetti caratteristici che non le tombe infantili maschili; in altre parole questo significa, che per errore alcune tombe maschili potrebbero essere state identificate come tombe femminili, a causa della semplice assenza di armi.⁴¹ Risulta comunque assai più difficile spiegare perché nelle tombe di adulti il rapporto tra i due sessi sia inverso.

Gli oggetti di corredo in relazione al sesso dei defunti

La ceramica ed il vasellame bronzeo ricorrono sia in tombe maschili che in quelle femminili. In generale però, le tombe maschili presentano una maggiore ricchezza di vasi di bronzo, mentre nelle tombe femminili è più frequente la ceramica di argilla depurata con decorazione. Anche la forma del vasellame è diversa; nelle tombe maschili il vasellame fa parte, in linea generale, del servizio da mensa, mentre le tombe femminili contengono più servizio 'da cucina' (situle, grosse ciotole, bacili, ecc.). Le donne 'ricche' si contraddistinguono per la presenza, all'interno della tomba, di un fascio di spiedi,⁴² di ornamenti in argento e raramente anche in oro, e per la particolare esuberanza di ornamenti raffinati, tra i quali la cintura o la stole. Il corredo funerario di alcune donne comprendeva anche un piccolo coltello.⁴³ Attrezzi per la filatura ricorrono in molte

tombe femminili, sia nelle tombe di ragazze giovani che di donne anziane. In alcune 'ricche' tombe maschili sono stati ritrovati, oltre alle armi (a volte anche difensive), dei morsi equini e dei carri da combattimento a due ruote. Interessante è la ricorrenza di simboli già antichi all'epoca della sepoltura – sia originali che copie in terracotta –, quali ascette neolitiche (nelle tombe femminili) o punte di freccia (nelle tombe maschili). Nel caso delle tombe femminili, questi oggetti sono spesso trasformati in ornamenti.

Il corredo delle tombe infantili risulta complessivamente simile al corredo delle tombe di adulti, fatta eccezione per i vasi⁴⁴ ed alcuni oggetti personali che spesso sono miniaturizzati. Alcune tombe infantili sono estremamente ricche di oggetti. I bambini di sesso maschile venivano spesso sepolti con armi (a volte miniaturizzate), spiedi ed oggetti in bronzo, quelli di sesso femminile con pendagli bronzei, conchiglie cipree, fuseruole e rocchetti. Le conchiglie cipree ricorrono specialmente nelle tombe di bambine ed adolescenti di sesso femminile, per cui si potrebbe ipotizzare che queste conchiglie, oltre ad essere simbolo di fertilità, rappresentassero anche un simbolo di verginità.⁴⁵ Sulla scorta di questa considerazione si potrebbe andare oltre e supporre che, in un determinato momento nella vita delle giovani donne, si svolgesse un importante *rite de passage* (come un matrimonio), in conseguenza del quale il loro ruolo sociale subiva un radicale mutamento. In linea generale, il fatto che i bambini – almeno quelli

³⁸ D'Ercole 1996c, 171/172.

³⁹ D'Ercole 1996c, 172.

⁴⁰ D'Ercole 1996c, 175. Questi dati sono però quasi esclusivamente basati sui corredi. Delle tombe che sono state scavate negli anni '60 e '70 (tra le quali molte tombe orientalizzanti ed arcaiche), non si hanno i dati demografici e nemmeno sugli scheletri delle tombe 420-605 è stata eseguita un'analisi osteologica. Delle tombe per le quali invece è stata eseguita l'analisi osteologica, il risultato è pressoché sempre corrispondente a quanto ci si aspettasse dallo studio degli oggetti di corredo, tranne in tre casi; si tratta delle tombe 64, 374 e 403 rispetto alle quali l'analisi osteologica ha dimostrato che si trattava di scheletri femminili, confutando le conclusioni raggiunte sulla base dell'analisi degli oggetti di corredo.

⁴¹ Per i bambini non è possibile stabilire il sesso con l'analisi osteologica.

⁴² La presenza di questi fasci nelle tombe femminili è rimarchevole, perché di solito vengono interpretati come oggetti tipicamente maschili.

⁴³ V. le considerazioni sopra svolte sui coltelli ritrovati in alcune tombe femminili di Alfedena. Lo stesso tipo di coltello ricorre comunque anche nelle tombe maschili e possono anche aver avuto funzione di armi o utensili. V. D'Ercole 1991, 43/44.

⁴⁴ Vasi collegati al mondo infantile sono dei bicchieri ovoidali e dei bicchieri piccoli caratterizzati da spesse pareti rettilinee e da una superficie di posa molto larga. Sono realizzati in un impasto di color arancione. V. D'Ercole 1996, 184.

⁴⁵ La conchiglia ciprea è spesso interpretata come un'immagine allegorica dell'organo genitale femminile. D'Ercole 1991, 54/55.

che con buona approssimazione facevano parte dell'aristocrazia – venivano sepolti con così tanta cura,⁴⁶ potrebbe stare ad indicare che venivano considerati come membri della società a pieno titolo. Nella società arcaica di Campovalano, oltre alle adolescenti, anche le donne anziane sembra abbiano goduto di una posizione sociale di rilievo; spesso le tombe di queste donne mostrano corredi più esuberanti e relativamente spesso sono sepolte entro circoli di pietra.⁴⁷ La presunta considerazione sociale rilevante di cui godevano le donne anziane, potrebbe trovare spiegazione nella centralità del ruolo delle donne stesse nella trasmissione delle tradizioni culturali per la discendenza.

Loreto Aprutino

Nelle vicinanze dell'odierno paese di Loreto Aprutino si trovano diverse piccole necropoli, due delle quali verranno qui in breve analizzate: la necropoli di Farina-Cardito e quella di Colle Fiorano. Entrambe le necropoli sono state scavate da Giuseppe Leopardi negli anni '50.

Farina-Cardito

Questa necropoli va probabilmente datata alla fine del VII – inizio del VI secolo a.C.⁴⁸ La necropoli è stata scavata nella sua totalità e consisteva di soltanto 19 tombe.⁴⁹ Le tombe sono tutte a fossa terragna semplice. Nessuna tomba era munita di ripostiglio. L'orientamento delle tombe è E-O.

Soltanto cinque delle tombe che costituivano la necropoli di Farina-Cardito contenevano armi e sono quindi quasi sicuramente da identificare come tombe maschili. Otto tombe sono quasi sicuramente femminili.⁵⁰ Per le rimanenti tombe non è stato possibile stabilire sesso ed età dei defunti. Sia gli oggetti di corredo maschili, che quelli femminili presentano una sostanziale omogeneità tipologica. Questa considerazione ed il ridotto numero delle tombe presenti nella necropoli hanno indotto a ritenere che la stessa sia stata utilizzata per un periodo di tempo piuttosto breve.⁵¹

Gli oggetti di corredo sono da suddividere in oggetti maschili (armi) ed oggetti femminili (ornamenti ed attrezzi per la filatura). Olle non sono state trovate.⁵² Mancano, nelle tombe maschili, i consueti indicatori di *status*, come i servizi da banchetto e l'ostentazione di oggetti di lusso esotici. Il compito di esibire il livello di ricchezza e di potere è qui affidato solo alle donne. Due tombe femminili, in particolare, spiccano per l'abbondanza e la eccezionalità degli oggetti,⁵³ quali un pettorale, dei pendagli e dei diademi o corone.⁵⁴ Presumibilmente, questi oggetti vanno considerati come simboli della posizione sociale del defunto. Le fuseruole ed i rocchetti, rinvenuti in

numero considerevole in molte tombe femminili, potrebbero testimoniare un importante ruolo delle donne di questa comunità nelle attività di filatura e di tessitura, ed il valore economico che tali attività implicavano.

Colle Fiorano

A Colle Fiorano, 5 km da Farina-Cardito, 23 tombe sono state portate alla luce (*fig. 5*). Dai risultati delle ricognizioni effettuate sul terreno della necropoli, risulta però evidente che le dimensioni originarie della stessa fossero ben più ampie: circa il doppio di quella attualmente scavata. Probabilmente la necropoli è rimasta in uso dalla fine del VII fino agli inizi del IV secolo a.C. Il periodo di utilizzazione può essere suddiviso in almeno quattro fasi.⁵⁵ Una di queste fasi coincide con quella della necropoli di Farina-Cardito, viste le affinità riscontrate in alcuni oggetti. Poiché i dati che indicano queste affinità provengono soltanto dal materiale sporadico,⁵⁶ questa fase riguarda un'area della necropoli di Colle Fiorano non scavata.

Anche a Colle Fiorano le tombe sono semplici fosse terragne. In alcune tombe sono state rinvenute delle pietre poste lungo il perimetro della tomba, ma senza chiara regolarità. Ripostigli non ricorrono nemmeno qui. L'orientamento delle tombe è E-O.⁵⁷ Leopardi distingue sette tombe maschili, sei tombe femminili, sette tombe di bambino e tre tombe per le quali non è stato possibile stabilire il sesso e l'età dei defunti.⁵⁸ Come a Farina-Cardito, tutte le attribuzioni di sesso sono basate sulla tipologia degli oggetti di corredo. I criteri usati per le attribuzioni sessuali non sono specificati. Tutte le tombe con armi vengono considerate tombe maschili, tutte le tombe con ceramica in miniatura e *torques* come tombe infantili e le restanti tombe sono classificate o come tombe femminili, o il sesso del defunto è sconosciuto. Fibule ricorrono nelle tombe di ambedue

⁴⁶ Sia per quanto riguarda l'architettura delle loro tombe, che per i corredi funerari.

⁴⁷ D'Ercole 1996c, 179. Cfr. le tombe femminili nrs. 93, 104 e LVIII di Alfedena.

⁴⁸ D'Ercole 1990, 163 e Papi 1978, 188. Cianfarani (1978, 293) da come *terminus ante quem* la fine del VI-inizio V sec. a.C. e Leopardi (1957, 252) data la necropoli nella prima metà del VI sec. a.C.

⁴⁹ Leopardi 1957, 250-252.

⁵⁰ D'Ercole 1990, 162.

⁵¹ Papi 1980, 33.

⁵² Forse con una eccezione. V. Cianfarani 1978, 297.

⁵³ Le tombe nrs. 9 e 10.

⁵⁴ V. Cianfarani 1978, 294-297.

⁵⁵ Papi 1980, 33-35.

⁵⁶ V. Papi 1980.

⁵⁷ Fatta eccezione per una sola tomba, che è orientata N-S.

⁵⁸ Leopardi 1954.



Fig. 5. Pianta della necropoli di Loreto Aprutino, Colle Fiorano. Scala mancante. Adattata da: Leopardi 1954, 291.

i sessi. Delle tre tombe che Leopardi considera non-classificabili, almeno una ritengo possa esser qualificata come tomba femminile per la presenza di una fuseruola. L'identificazione di sette tombe come tombe infantili, compiuta solo in base agli oggetti di corredo – sui disegni non si riesce a riconoscere alcuna differenza di grandezza delle tombe – mi pare altresì poco convincente. Suppongo, che alcune di queste vadano annoverate fra le tombe femminili, o incluse in una eventuale categoria di tombe maschili senza armi.

Le tombe femminili di Colle Fiorano sono considerevolmente più sobrie rispetto a quelle di Farina-Cardito, sia qualitativamente che quantitativamente. Molto più sporadici sono gli ornamenti e gli utensili per la filatura. Spesso gli oggetti di corredo sono limitati ad una semplice coppia di fibule, situate sempre nella zona delle clavicole.⁵⁹ Non ci sono tombe che spiccano per una particolare ricchezza. Per quanto riguarda le tombe maschili, a Colle Fiorano è stato riscontrato un leggero incremento del numero delle armi rispetto a Farina-Cardito. Estremamente interessante è il fatto che le olle ed il vasellame metallico siano state rinvenute esclusivamente nelle tombe maschili.⁶⁰ In linea generale, le tombe maschili di Colle Fiorano sono più 'ricche' di quelle femminili.

Confronto fra le necropoli di Farina-Cardito e di Colle Fiorano

Ci sono chiare differenze fra le vicine necropoli di Farina-Cardito e di Colle Fiorano. Queste differenze sono sostanzialmente riconducibili a due possibili ordini di considerazioni: o abbiamo a che fare con due comunità distinte, oppure con due differenti periodi di utilizzazione delle necropoli. Probabilmente la spiegazione più plausibile risiede nella combinazione delle due ipotesi. Originariamente si trattava di comunità distinte – ciò è anche suggerito dalla presenza di altre piccole necropoli nella zona –,⁶¹ ma la parte scavata della necropoli di Colle Fiorano è poco più recente ed il periodo di utilizzazione di entrambe le necropoli coincide in parte, il che potrebbe significare che in un determinato momento le due comunità si siano confuse, oppure che la comunità di Farina-Cardito sia scomparsa. Va precisato, tuttavia, che questa ipotesi è basata soltanto sulle due necropoli qui discusse. Per avere una idea più completa della situazione andrebbero considerate anche le altre necropoli della zona.

Il confronto fra le tombe femminili delle due necropoli ha messo in evidenza che, mentre le tombe di Farina-Cardito sono caratterizzate da un'esuberanza di ornamenti e dalla presenza di attrezzi per la filatura, le tombe femminili di Colle Fiorano erano sostanzialmente prive di questi elementi caratteristici.

Come già detto, anche le tombe maschili delle due necropoli mostrano delle chiare differenze. A Colle Fiorano le tombe maschili sono diventate più 'ricche' rispetto a Farina-Cardito ed evidenziano più chiaramente lo specifico ruolo maschile di guerriero e difensore della comunità per la presenza di armi. In più compaiono per la prima volta le olle nelle tombe maschili – e questo potrebbe significare che agli uomini venisse attribuito altresì un importante ruolo rituale, o che gli uomini si presentassero come depositari della ricchezza della famiglia.⁶² E' verosimile, in ogni caso, che tutte queste differenze testimoniano un cambiamento del ruolo sia maschile che femminile a Loreto Aprutino.⁶³

⁵⁹ Cfr. il torsetto femminile di Capestrano.

⁶⁰ Non è da escludere però la possibilità che questo sia da imputare ad una documentazione statistica troppo limitata.

⁶¹ Come quella di Colle Carpinì, Colle Mirabello e Villa Scannella.

⁶² Nelle altre necropoli le olle occupano quasi sempre un posto eminente nelle tombe. Si trovano di solito in un angolo appiattito oppure in un ripostiglio. Visti i resti di cibo che solitamente contengono, svolgevano un ruolo importante nella ideologia funebre.

⁶³ D'Ercole 1990, 163. Se è vero ciò che sostiene Cianfarani (1978, 297), cioè che il vaso d'impasto ritrovato fra le pietre di riempimento della ricca tomba femminile nr. 9 era un'olla,

Capestrano

La necropoli di Capestrano (fig. 6), scavata sotto la direzione di Giuseppe Moretti e più tardi sotto la direzione di Ornella Terrosi Zanco, è conosciuta soprattutto per il ritrovamento delle statue del Guerriero e del torsetto femminile.⁶⁴ La necropoli è probabilmente stata utilizzata dal periodo arcaico fino al periodo romano. Delle tombe portate alla luce, 24 risalgono al periodo arcaico.⁶⁵ Saggi e ritrovamenti sporadici hanno però dimostrato, che il numero complessivo di sepolture presenti nella necropoli doveva essere ben più elevato.⁶⁶ Le tombe risalenti al periodo arcaico sono tutte semplici fosse terragne senza lastroni. Alcune tombe erano delimitate sul piano d'inumazione da pietre.

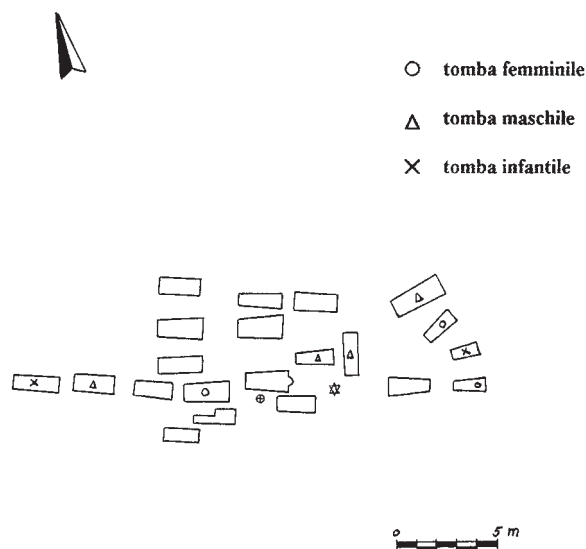


Fig. 6. Pianta della necropoli di Capestrano. N.B.: L'asterisco indica il punto di rinvenimento del Guerriero; il cerchietto quello del torsetto femminile. Adattata da: Moretti 1936/37, tav. III.

All'interno di quasi tutte le tombe sono state rinvenute grosse olle protette da un circolo di pietre o da ciottoli fluviali. In linea generale, tutte le tombe presentano un orientamento E-O.

Nell'ambito delle tombe arcaiche sono state identificate quattro tombe maschili, tre tombe femminili, due tombe infantili e dodici tombe per le quali i dati a disposizione non hanno consentito di stabilire sesso ed età dei defunti. Poiché sugli scheletri non è stata eseguita l'analisi osteologica, le attribuzioni di sesso sono state compiute esclusivamente sulla base degli oggetti di corredo rinvenuti all'interno delle fosse.

Sulla pianta della necropoli non si riconoscono chiare concentrazioni di tombe, ma questo può essere semplicemente imputato al ridotto numero di tombe portate alla luce.

Gli oggetti di corredo in relazione al sesso dei defunti

A Capestrano, la ceramica è scarsa, di bassa qualità e presenta una varietà tipologica piuttosto limitata.⁶⁷ Vasellame bronzeo è stato ritrovato in quantità considerevoli sia nelle tombe maschili che femminili.⁶⁸ Anche le olle sono presenti nelle tombe di entrambe i sessi. Ricorrono inoltre fibule (soltanto due tipi), una cintura, un paio di sandali ed oggetti ornamentali. Gli ornamenti si trovano solo nelle tombe femminili ed infantili; anch'essi presentano variazioni piuttosto limitate. Fuseruole sono state rinvenute soltanto nelle tombe di quelle che probabilmente erano ragazze giovani.⁶⁹ Un ritrovamento unico, proveniente da una tomba femminile,⁷⁰ è costituito da un oggetto formato da due borchiette di osso con chiodini a testa stondata. Questo oggetto potrebbe essere una particolare esecuzione di un rocchetto.⁷¹ Nelle tombe maschili è stato rinvenuto un numero abbastanza elevato di armi. Nessun defunto, però, era armato in maniera così completa come il Guerriero di Capestrano. Come in molte altre tombe maschili della zona medio-adriatica, le armi erano quasi esclusivamente di natura offensiva. Nelle tombe riconosciute come sicuramente maschili, fibule non sono state rinvenute.

Una tomba maschile⁷² e due tombe femminili⁷³ spiccano a Capestrano, sia per la quantità che per la qualità (vasellame bronzeo e oggetti eccezionali) degli oggetti di corredo. Gli scavi effettuati non hanno però consentito di stabilire con certezza che

questo potrebbe indicare che il ruolo rituale era inizialmente riservato alle donne. In questo caso, questo sarebbe un'altro sostegno per l'ipotesi del cambiamento del ruolo.

⁶⁴ V. Cianfarani 1978, 163-172 e 185/186.

⁶⁵ Delle quali 21 pubblicate da G. Moretti (1936/37) e tre da O. Terrosi Zanco (1967).

⁶⁶ Terrosi Zanco 1967, 323 e 329.

⁶⁷ Moretti (1936/37) non specifica i diversi tipi e parla solo di vasi d'impasto e bucchero 'italico'.

⁶⁸ Al contrario di ad es. Campovalano, dove il vasellame bronzeo era un *status-symbol* riservato quasi esclusivamente agli uomini.

⁶⁹ Le tombe nrs. 14 e 29 (Moretti 1936/37). Forse, però, anche in questo caso questo fatto va imputato ad una documentazione statistica troppo limitata.

⁷⁰ La tomba nr. 2; v. Moretti 1936/37.

⁷¹ Cfr. il fuso di vetro 'simbolico' dalla tomba nr. 119 di Campovalano.

⁷² La tomba nr. 2; v. Moretti 1936/37.

⁷³ Le tombe nrs. 3 e 12; v. Moretti 1936/37.

le statue del Guerriero ed il torsetto femminile provenissero da queste tombe.⁷⁴ Si può comunque affermare con buona approssimazione che queste figure costituissero le statue funebri di personaggi emergenti all'interno della comunità. La presenza nella comunità arcaica di Castrano di una struttura sociale gerarchizzata è confermata dalla natura degli oggetti di corredo, che evidenziano una differenza abbastanza netta fra tombe 'ricche' e tombe 'povere'.

Atri

Ad Atri sono state identificate due necropoli: quella di Pretara e quella di Colle della Giustizia, entrambe scavate sotto la direzione di E. Brizio all'inizio del '900. Poiché a Colle della Giustizia soltanto due tombe sono state scavate in maniera sistematica, mi limiterò qui all'analisi della necropoli di Pretara (fig. 7).

Tutte le tombe di Pretara sono databili nei primi tre quarti del VI secolo a.C.⁷⁵ La maggior parte delle tombe è coperta da lastroni di pietra sui quali a volte si trova depositato parte del corredo, ma ricorrono anche fosse terragne semplici. In un caso, i resti ossei di uno stesso scheletro femminile sono stati ritrovati in due fosse distinte, scavate ad una distanza di circa 50 cm. l'una dall'altra. Tutte le tombe sono orientate E-O.

A Pretara sono riconoscibili tre gruppi di tombe posti a distanza di 15-20 metri l'uno dall'altro, separati da zone di terreno sterile. Le caratteristiche formali degli oggetti di corredo presenti nelle tombe femminili ed infantili ha evidenziato come ciascun gruppo di tombe abbia conosciuto due fasi di utilizzazione distinte.⁷⁶ Ci troviamo quindi in presenza di un fenomeno del tutto simile a quello riscontrato nella necropoli di Alfedena, dove ciascuna famiglia, o clan, per generazioni successive ha continuato a seppellire i propri defunti nella stessa area della necropoli.

La classificazione delle tombe di Pretara è la seguente: dodici tombe maschili, 13 tombe femminili, cinque tombe infantili e dieci tombe per le quali non è stato possibile stabilire sesso ed età dei defunti.

Gli oggetti di corredo in relazione al sesso dei defunti

Anche ad Atri il sesso dei defunti è stabilito sulla base degli oggetti rinvenuti all'interno delle fosse: la presenza di armi nelle tombe maschili è assunta come chiaro indizio di una presenza maschile, mentre gli oggetti ornamentali⁷⁷ sono associati a defunti di sesso femminile. Ceramica (soprattutto d'impasto) si trova nelle tombe di entrambe i sessi. Lo stesso vale per le fibule, delle quali però la tipologia risulta

più limitata per gli uomini.⁷⁸ Vasellame bronzeo non è stato trovato.

Per quanto riguarda gli ornamenti, è soprattutto la tipologia dei pendagli, che in molti casi costituivano delle collane, ad essere molto vasta. La maggior parte dei pendagli, fra cui anche la conchiglia ciprea, ha chiare affinità con quelli delle altre necropoli medio-adriatiche. Nelle tombe femminili sono inoltre state rinvenute le *châtelaines* e le piastre di cinturone in bronzo, coltellini,⁷⁹ fuseruole, rocchetti e pesi da telaio. Di difficile interpretazione risulta il ritrovamento di una fuseruola in una tomba chiaramente maschile.⁸⁰

In linea generale, quasi tutte le tombe rinvenute risultano abbastanza ricche di corredo. Non ci sono tombe che spiccano per la particolare abbondanza o qualità degli oggetti. Anche le tombe infantili, che si riconoscono solo dalle dimensioni degli scheletri e delle tombe stesse, contengono dei corredi abbastanza ricchi. Gli oggetti tombali corrispondono in linea di massima a quelli delle tombe femminili.

Opi

Nella Val Fondillo, vicino all'odierno paese di Opi, è stata portata alla luce, sotto la direzione di Cinzia Morelli, una necropoli databile nel VI secolo a.C., con alcuni attardamenti nel V a.C.⁸¹ (fig. 8).⁸² Ricorrono sia tombe a cassone (61%), che semplici fosse terragne (39 %). Circa un quarto delle tombe è munito di ripostiglio dello stesso tipo della vicina necropoli di Alfedena. All'interno dei ripostigli si trova sempre una grossa olla accompagnata da alcuni vasi di minori dimensioni (tazze, ciotole, anforette).

Come ad Alfedena si distinguono diversi raggruppamenti di tombe – otto, finora – entro i quali le tombe sono distribuite in cerchi più o meno concentrici attorno ad una piazzuola lasciata intenzionalmente vuota. Le tombe non sono disposte secondo

⁷⁴ Nel Museo Archeologico di Chieti, la tomba nr. 2 viene tuttavia presentata come appartenente al torsetto femminile e la tomba nr. 3 come appartenente al Guerriero. In nessuno dei due casi sono però state ritrovate assieme ed, in più, sembra esserci una leggera differenza cronologica fra le statue e gli oggetti di corredo (D'Ercole 1990, 168). Inoltre esistono degli indizi che la pianta sia un po' 'aggiustata' dal Moretti, per tenere le cose chiare ed ordinate (D'Ercole 1990, 165-166).

⁷⁵ Ruggeri-Baldelli 1982, 642.

⁷⁶ Ruggeri-Baldelli 1982, 641/642.

⁷⁷ A prescindere da *torques*, bracciali ed anelli digitali che si trovano anche nelle tombe maschili.

⁷⁸ V. Ruggeri-Baldelli 1982, 634/635 e Brizio 1901 e 1902.

⁷⁹ Di cui almeno uno nella tomba di un infante di sesso femminile (la tomba nr. XXII); v. Brizio 1902.

⁸⁰ La tomba nr. XII. V. Brizio 1902.

⁸¹ Morelli 1995, 10.

⁸² Questa pianta è incompleta.

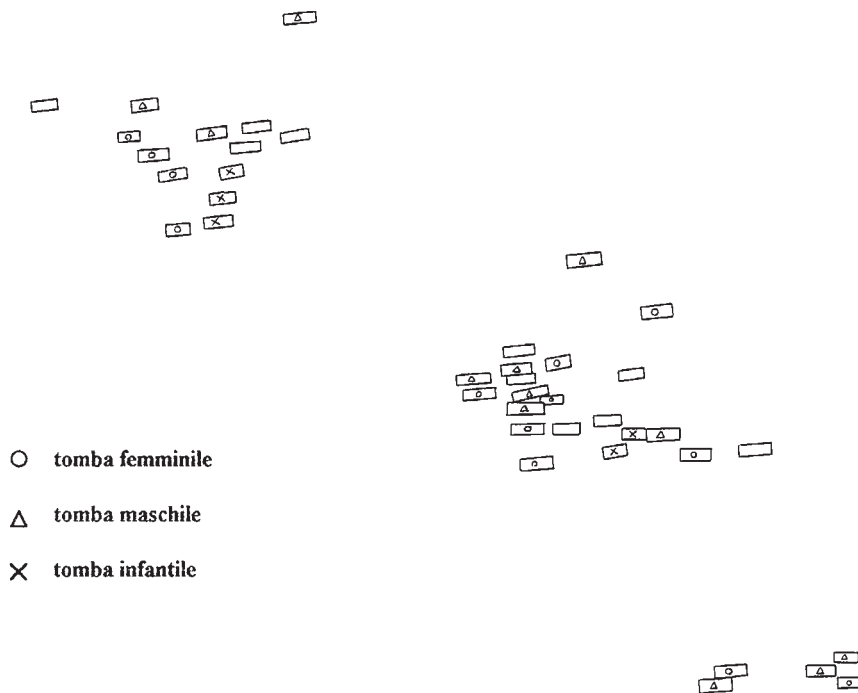
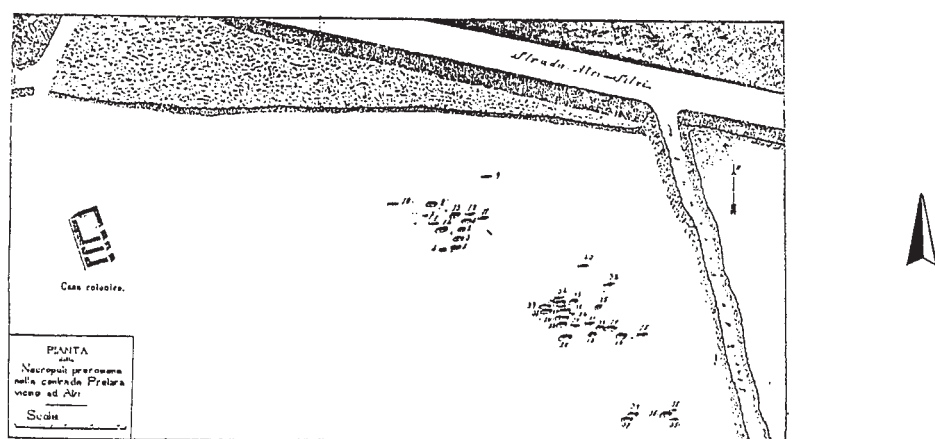


Fig. 7. Pianta della necropoli di Atri, La Pretara. Scala mancante. Adattata da: Brizio 1902, 230.

un orientamento fisso, ma seguono l'andamento del circolo. Tuttavia, la testa non si trova mai in direzione ovest. Ciascun gruppo è costituito da un numero variabile di tombe (da sei a 29), che presentano caratteristiche assai diverse fra loro. All'interno di questi raggruppamenti di tombe, sepolture maschili,

femminili ed infantili risultano disposte senza alcuna ordine apparente. Analoga considerazione vale per il tipo di sepoltura, posto che tombe a cassone e fosse terragne si susseguono senza regolarità. Presumibilmente anche qui i raggruppamenti di tombe rappresentano diversi 'clan' o famiglie allargate.

Ad Opi sono state scavate 153 tombe, corrispondenti a circa 3 % della presunta grandezza della necropoli.⁸³ Su 47 scheletri è stata eseguita l'analisi osteologica. La identificazione del sesso dei defunti è la seguente: 20 individui maschili, 13 individui femminili, quattro bambini e dieci tombe per le quali non è stato possibile stabilire sesso ed età dei defunti.⁸⁴

Gli oggetti di corredo in relazione al sesso dei defunti

Ad Opi, la ceramica è pressoché esclusivamente di fattura locale e ricorre, come anche il vasellame bronzeo, in misura sostanzialmente identica nelle tombe maschili e femminili. La distinzione principale fra uomini e donne è anche qui la presenza di armi nelle tombe maschili ed ornamenti⁸⁵ e fuseruole in quelle femminili. Fibule sono state rinvenute nelle tombe di entrambe i sessi.

Tra le varie tombe ci sono differenze notevoli nella ricchezza dei corredi. Ci sono tombe senza corredo o con solo fibule, e tombe che arrivano a contenere fino a 20 reperti, tra i quali parecchi oggetti eccezionali di bronzo, ambra e pasta vitrea. Pare invece che non ci sia una differenza notevole nella ricchezza fra le tombe maschili e femminili. Anche le tombe infan-

tili risultano in alcuni casi particolarmente ricche.⁸⁶ Caratteristica delle tombe infantili è la presenza di un piccolo boccale d'impasto, mentre gli altri oggetti di corredo (ornamenti, fibule ecc.) sono spesso del tutto identici a quelli degli adulti.

CONCORDANZE E DISCORDANZE NELLE NECROPOLI, LE TOMBE ED I CORREDI

Ciascuna delle comunità relative alle necropoli sopra discusse possedeva indubbiamente un proprio sistema di regole afferenti ai rituali funerari, in parte da imputare alla cronologia delle necropoli all'interno del periodo arcaico. Allo stesso momento, le necropoli presentano anche alcuni importanti elementi in comune. Queste concordanze si manifestano innanzitutto in relazione ad alcuni aspetti della distribuzione delle tombe all'interno delle necropoli. Così, per quanto attiene al sesso degli inumati, in tutte le necropoli sono presenti sepolture sia femminili che maschili nella stessa area sepolcrale, ed allo stesso modo anche l'età dei defunti presenti all'interno di una stessa area risulta disomogenea. In alcune necropoli sono evidenti gli indizi di una organizzazione delle sepolture a mo' di clan. Questo è il caso di Alfedena, Atri, Opi e in misura minore Campovalano. Ad Alfedena ed Opi, le tombe sono per di più distribuite secondo un modello a cerchi concentrici. Nelle necropoli di Loreto Aprutino e Capistrano, al contrario, non è riconoscibile alcuno schema predefinito per la distribuzione topografica delle tombe.

L'orientamento delle tombe è prevalentemente E-O, con la testa in direzione est. Si deve tuttavia sottolineare, che l'orientamento delle sepolture non sembra così significativo da poter condurre a conclusioni di rilievo. Tutt'al più, l'orientamento sostanzialmente costante può confermare l'ipotesi, che in questo periodo esistevano chiare convenzioni rispetto al modo di orientare le tombe, probabilmente da mettere in relazione al sorgere ed al tramontare del sole. I tipi di sepoltura adottati consistono in tombe a cassa e fosse terragne semplici, spesso delimitate sul piano d'inumazione da grosse pietre sulle quali appoggiavano le tavole per coprire la sepoltura. I differenti tipi non sono direttamente legati al sesso del defunto, anche se in alcune necropoli vi sono

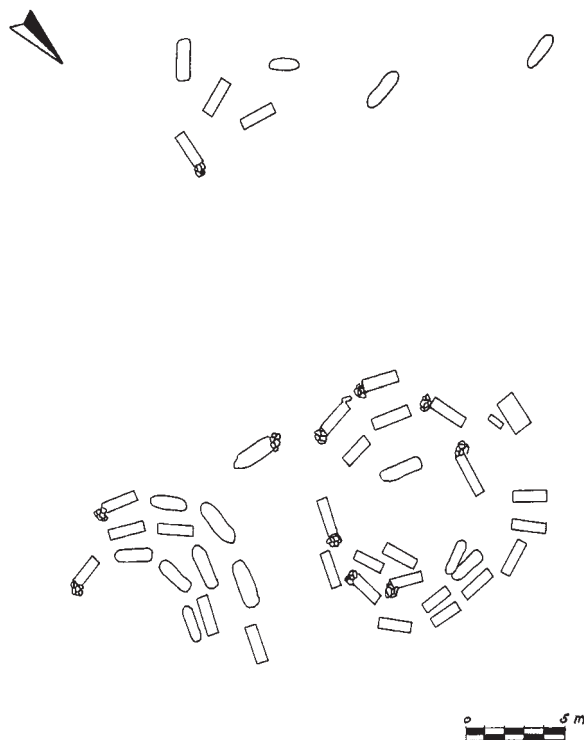


Fig. 8. Pianta della necropoli di Opi, Val Fondillo. Adattata da: Morelli 1996, 508.

⁸³ Morelli 1996, 507, dove però erano state scavate soltanto 47 tombe, corrispondente ad 1 % della presunta grandezza della necropoli.

⁸⁴ Questi dati sono preliminari.

⁸⁵ A prescindere da bracciali ed anelli, che ricorrono anche nelle tombe maschili.

⁸⁶ Ad es. le tombe nrs. 5 e 17; v. Morelli 1995, 15.

indizi che suggeriscono che certe varianti di sepoltura ricorrono più frequentemente con un determinato sesso piuttosto che con un altro. Così ad Alfedena i ripostigli sono più spesso associati alle tombe maschili che non alle tombe femminili, ed a Campovalano i circoli tombali dei bambini di sesso maschile sono più ampi di quelli dei bambini di sesso femminile. Nei casi in cui non è stata eseguita l'analisi osteologica, l'attribuzione delle sepolture all'uno o all'altro sesso è stata effettuata esclusivamente sulla base dell'analisi degli oggetti di corredo. Questo metodo è in realtà meno arbitrario di quanto potrebbe apparire in prima istanza. E' possibile identificare due tipi di corredo che si escludono a vicenda: nel primo sono comprese le armi, mentre il secondo è caratterizzato dalla presenza di oggetti ornamentali, ai quali si aggiungono talvolta strumenti per la filatura e la tessitura.⁸⁷ Questa distinzione è presente in tutte le necropoli in misura più o meno evidente. Le analisi osteologiche eseguite sulle sepolture di Alfedena, Campovalano ed Opi, hanno confermato che il primo tipo di corredo è da ricondurre a defunti di sesso maschile, mentre i corredi del secondo tipo appartengono normalmente a tombe femminili. Si deve tuttavia precisare che nemmeno l'analisi osteologica permette di stabilire con assoluta certezza il sesso dei soggetti sottoposti ad esame. Lo studio della forma del bacino permette di risalire al sesso del defunto in circa 95 % dei casi, ma le ossa del bacino non sempre sono conservate. Inoltre, le caratteristiche delle ossa maschili sono più facilmente riconoscibili rispetto a quelle femminili, per cui in linea generale vengano identificati poco più uomini che donne.⁸⁸ In assenza di metodi più affidabili per stabilire il sesso e l'età dei defunti, dobbiamo quindi assumere come punto di partenza i dati risultanti dall'analisi degli oggetti di corredo e, se disponibili, le analisi osteologiche.

Rimane comunque notevole il fatto che, almeno nelle necropoli più grandi, vi sia una sovrarappresentazione di defunti di sesso maschile. Ad Alfedena, il rapporto uomini-donne varia a clan. Le donne sembrano essere sepolte in numero maggiore nei clan dove tutte le tombe maschili risultarono prive di armi, rispetto a clan nei quali alcuni uomini facevano parte di un'aristocrazia militare. Le donne sepolte nell'ambito di questi ultimi clan, sono presumibilmente solo quelle che avevano qualche legame diretto con questi guerrieri. Se questa ipotesi trovasse conferma, essa potrebbe certamente far pensare ad una posizione subalterna delle donne di questa comunità. Non è purtroppo dato sapere, dove venivano sepolti invece le donne ed i bambini non seppelliti all'interno del clan.

Le considerazioni sopra esposte valgono in linea di massima anche per le necropoli di Campovalano ed

Opi. A Campovalano il rapporto uomini-donne è persino 2:1. Nelle altre necropoli, il rapporto tra defunti di sesso maschile e quelli di sesso femminile appare più equilibrato. A Farina-Cardito (Loreto Aprutino), si registra invece una netta prevalenza di tombe femminili rispetto a quelle maschili. Questo fatto potrebbe trovare spiegazione nella ristretta estensione della necropoli – e quindi della comunità –, per cui la gerarchia era probabilmente meno sviluppata sia a livello sociale che a livello di *gender*.

Il numero delle tombe di bambini risulta dovunque piuttosto basso. In linea generale, comunque, la ricchezza delle suppellettili infantili non risulta inferiore rispetto a quelle degli adulti. A Campovalano, le tombe infantili sembrano occupare una posizione di particolare rilievo, perché spesso rinvenute entro circoli di pietra. Oltre a fibule e vasi di ceramica, i bambini venivano accompagnati dagli stessi oggetti in funzione del sesso che si ritrovano nelle tombe di adulti (ornamenti e fuseruole per bambini di sesso femminile; armi per quelli di sesso maschile).⁸⁹ Pare che, con la deposizione di questi oggetti all'interno delle sepolture infantili, si volesse comunque esprimere il ruolo sociale che spettava al bambino morto troppo precocemente.

Oggetti di corredo in relazione al sesso dei defunti

Vasi di ceramica accompagnano i defunti in quasi tutte le tombe del periodo arcaico, sia di sesso maschile che di sesso femminile. Presente in molte sepolture è la olla, a volte deposta all'interno di un ripostiglio. Questa rivestiva presumibilmente una importante funzione rituale durante la cerimonia funebre. Delle necropoli qui discusse, solo nella necropoli di Colle Fiorano (Loreto Aprutino), la olla è presente esclusivamente in tombe relative a defunti di sesso maschile.

L'unica necropoli dove, a quanto sembra, vi sia una relazione tra la forma e l'esecuzione della ceramica (e del vasellame bronzeo), ed il sesso dei defunti, è Campovalano. La presenza di lussuosi servizi da mensa, specialmente nelle tombe maschili, può essere interpretata come indizio della diffusione in

⁸⁷ Il metodo di determinazione del sesso dei defunti sulla base dei rapporti intrinseci esistenti fra gli oggetti di corredo, è stato eseguito in maniera dettagliata per la necropoli di Pontecagnano, Picentino e per le necropoli villanoviane di Tarquinia, Le Rose e Veio, Quattro Fontanili. V. Vida Navarro 1992 e J. Toms in Whitehouse 1998.

⁸⁸ Morris 1982, 82. Un metodo alternativo per stabilire sesso ed età di defunti è costituito dall'analisi DNA, ma questo metodo è tuttora in fase di sviluppo per i resti ossei antichi. V. Keri A. Brown, 'Gender and Sex: Distinguishing the Difference with Ancient DNA', in Whitehouse 1998, 35-44.

⁸⁹ Nell'ambito delle necropoli qui esaminate, le sole tombe infantili che abbiano restituito armi si trovano a Campovalano.

quest'area della c.d. 'ideologia del banchetto' di origine etrusca. Non è possibile stabilire se – al pari di quanto avveniva in Etruria nello stesso periodo – anche le donne partecipassero al banchetto. In ogni caso, non è dimostrabile che i vasi rinvenuti nelle tombe femminili, fra i quali, oltre alla ceramica buccheroides di fattura locale, molti esemplari d'importazione con decorazione, avessero un valore inferiore a quelli rinvenuti nelle tombe maschili.

Come più volte ricordato, le tombe maschili sono contraddistinte dalla presenza di armi quasi sempre offensive. Gli unici oggetti appartenenti all'armatura difensiva sono i *kardiophylakes* (ad Alfedena ed Opi) ed un elmo ed uno schiniere (a Campovalano). Anche i carri da combattimento a due ruote ed i morsi equini sono stati rinvenuti solo a Campovalano. Gli ornamenti delle tombe maschili si limitano a semplici bracciali, anelli digitali e, più raramente, *torques*.

Per quanto concerne le fibule, è riconoscibile quasi ovunque una tipologia differenziata a seconda del sesso degli individui sepolti. Fatta eccezione per alcuni tipi, ricorrenti diffusamente in vaste aree della zona medio-adriatica, in linea generale le caratteristiche tipologiche e stilistiche delle fibule si differenziano anche da necropoli a necropoli. Comune a tutte le necropoli è la constatazione che le fibule sono presenti in numero maggiore nelle tombe femminili rispetto a quelle maschili; in linea generale, inoltre, le fibule femminili si caratterizzano, sotto il profilo della lavorazione, per un maggior grado di raffinatezza, e presentano una più ampia varietà tipologica. Esse sono frequentemente incastonate d'ambra ed ornate di pendagli. A volte, nelle tombe femminili, sono state rinvenute concentrazioni di fibule poste sotto la nuca della defunta;⁹⁰ questa particolare collocazione fa pensare che le fibule in esame fossero utilizzate per sostenere l'acconciatura delle donne, o per fissare un velo. Si potrebbe trattare dello stesso tipo di velo o cappuccio raffigurato nel torsetto femminile di Capestrano, anche se sul torsetto manca qualsiasi traccia di fibule usate a questo scopo.

L'aspetto più caratteristico delle sepolture femminili medio-adriatiche è sicuramente rappresentato dalla particolare abbondanza di ornamenti personali che accompagnavano molte defunte. Alcuni degli ornamenti portati alla luce hanno una diffusione strettamente locale, mentre per altri è facile la loro collocazione nel più ampio contesto delle culture della zona medio-adriatica, o del centro-Italia. Pressoché ovunque si registra una evidente preferenza per decorazioni ricche e complesse. Gli ornamenti rinvenuti più frequentemente sono le armille, gli anelli digitali, le collane ed i pendagli. La tipologia dei pendagli è vasta e spesso molto originale; tipici delle

necropoli esaminate sono per esempio i pendagli a doppia spirale, i pendagli a bulla ed a battocchio, le perle di pasta vitrea, gli elementi di ambra in varie forme e le conchiglie cipree. Fra questi pendagli, soltanto le conchiglie cipree avevano un chiaro significato simbolico legato in modo specifico alla vita delle donne. Inoltre, in alcune delle tombe femminili più ricche, sono state rinvenute *châtelaines* o altri tipi di pettorali. Delle necropoli qui discusse, le placche di cinturone lavorate a giorno sono state rinvenute soltanto a Campovalano. Più diffuse sono le piastre di cinturone con nove o dodici borchie. Cinture realizzate completamente in lamina di bronzo sono state rinvenute a Loreto Aprutino;⁹¹ lo stesso vale per oggetti di ornamento simili a corone o diademi.⁹² Spilloni per capelli sono conosciuti solo a Loreto Aprutino e ad Alfedena.⁹³

Sandali sono stati rinvenuti in diverse necropoli; per lo più in tombe maschili, ma a Campovalano anche in una tomba femminile. Quest'ultimo esemplare, però, presenta una conformazione diversa rispetto al sandalo di tipo maschile;⁹⁴ infatti il sandalo femminile era munito di una fascia di bronzo decorata con figure a stampo, e quindi aveva probabilmente una funzione decorativa più che pratica.

Nelle tombe sia maschili che femminili di alcune necropoli sono stati rinvenuti coltellini. Con buona probabilità questi coltellini vanno interpretati non come armi con finalità offensiva, ma come meri oggetti con funzione pratica o rituale (per tagliare le carni durante le cerimonie?).

Strumenti per la filatura (fuseruole e rocchetti) sono stati rinvenuti nelle tombe femminili di tutte le necropoli qui considerate, e soprattutto nelle tombe databili all'inizio del periodo arcaico. Per quanto è dato sapere, pesi da telaio sono stati trovati solo ad Atri. La scarsità dei pesi da telaio rispetto agli strumenti per la filatura potrebbe trovare spiegazione nel fatto che, per recuperare tali oggetti andava smontato il telaio stesso. Inoltre, è più facilmente pensabile che gli oggetti per la filatura facessero parte della proprietà individuale delle defunte. A Campovalano ed a Capestrano sono stati trovati degli oggetti che, a causa della loro apparente inutilizzabilità pratica, potrebbero essere assimilati ad un fuso e ad un rocchetto 'simbolico'.⁹⁵ Il caso della tomba maschile con fuseruola di Atri non ha paralleli nelle altre necropoli.

⁹⁰ Ad es. nelle tombe nrs. 9 e 10 di Loreto Aprutino, Farina-Cardito e le tombe nrs. IV e XXVIII ad Atri.

⁹¹ V. Papi 1978.

⁹² V. Cianfarani 1978, tavv. 78 e 79.

⁹³ V. Mariani 1901a, fig. 48 e Cianfarani 1978, tav. 100.

⁹⁴ Cfr. Cianfarani 1978, tav. 75 e tav. 92.

⁹⁵ La tomba nr. 2 di Capestrano e la tomba nr. 119 di Campovalano.

In conclusione, si può osservare che gli oggetti di corredo delle tombe femminili sembrano aver seguito uno sviluppo stilistico più rapido rispetto a quelli delle tombe maschili, i quali sono caratterizzati da un processo di evoluzione stilistica più lento e limitato.⁹⁶ Questo sembra valere almeno per le necropoli di Alfedena e di Atri, ma una conclusione più attendibile su questo aspetto richiederebbe un sostanziale ampliamento della ricerca alle altre necropoli della zona medio-adriatica.

LA POSIZIONE SOCIALE DELLA DONNA NELLA CULTURA ARCAICA MEDIO-ADRIATICA

Negli ultimi decenni, l'interesse per la condizione femminile nell'antichità si è andato accrescendo sempre di più. Di solito, si tratta di studi che hanno interessato culture descritte dalle fonti letterarie antiche o delle quali sono state tramandate numerose testimonianze figurative. Nella zona medio-adriatica, al contrario, gli unici elementi sulla base dei quali sia possibile procedere ad una ricostruzione della posizione sociale della donna sono rappresentati dai dati funerari: le necropoli.

Tuttavia nel rito funebre, e nelle sepolture stesse, spesso si ritrovano espressioni dei rapporti ideali, che non sempre aderiscono perfettamente alla reale articolazione della struttura sociale. In linea di principio le sepolture possono offrirci indicazioni piuttosto generiche sulla trama dei rapporti sociali esistenti all'interno di una determinata società, i quali probabilmente nella vita quotidiana erano ben più complessi. Per di più, come risulta da quanto detto in precedenza, esistono oltre ad alcune importanti analogie, anche delle chiare differenze fra le diverse necropoli dell'area medio-adriatica. Per questi motivi, allo stato attuale degli studi (compiuti e pubblicati), non è purtroppo possibile realizzare una ricerca che definisca in maniera esauriente ed articolata la posizione ed il ruolo sociale della donna in questa cultura. Alla luce delle difficoltà sopra ricordate, le considerazioni che seguono devono essere lette tenendo conto della loro intrinseca provvisorietà ed interpretate come stimolo per l'avvio di ulteriori studi.

Gli evidenti elementi di differenziazione riscontrabili tra le diverse tombe esaminate lasciano intravedere che abbiamo a che fare con comunità dalla struttura sociale differenziata, nella quale, in linea generale, le differenze di *gender* venivano fortemente evidenziate. Di difficile interpretazione risulta però il fatto, che non tutte le tombe sono munite di chiari indicatori di *gender*, quali armi ed ornamenti o attrezzi per la filatura. Un numero considerevole di

tombe conteneva soltanto ceramica o fibule. Anche se non è da escludere che per alcuni di questi oggetti esistessero altresì delle regole di associazione ad un determinato sesso o *gender*,⁹⁷ gran parte delle tombe rimane comunque non-classificabile – a meno che non fossero caratterizzate dalla presenza di altri indicatori di *gender* in materiale deperibile, ma di questo non è mai stata trovata alcuna traccia. L'assenza di chiari indicatori di *gender* (chiari per noi!) può trovare spiegazione in tre diversi ordini di considerazioni: non tutti i membri della comunità avevano un ruolo di *gender* ben definito; il *gender* del defunto veniva espresso tramite il rito funerario stesso; non tutti i membri della comunità possedevano i 'mezzi economici' per esprimere il loro ruolo di *gender*.

La terza ipotesi appare, a mio avviso, la più plausibile considerato che le tombe prive di indicatori di *gender* sono in linea generale le tombe più 'povere'. E' probabile, quindi, che quello che veniva espresso tramite gli oggetti di corredo non fosse tanto il sesso del defunto ed il suo relativo ruolo di *gender*, quanto piuttosto la classe sociale alla quale apparteneva. La definizione del ruolo di *gender* del defunto, all'interno di questa determinata classe sociale, può essere perciò considerata una finalità aggiuntiva dei corredi funerari. In altre parole, quello che esprimono gli 'indicatori di *gender*' non è il *gender sic et simpliciter*, ma qualcosa di ben più complicato. I ruoli sociali riconducibili al sesso biologico non erano prestabiliti in maniera così rigida, ma variavano a seconda della classe sociale e dell'età degli individui, e forse anche in relazione al posto occupato entro la scala gerarchica del clan. Dal modello di sepoltura 'a mo' di clan', tipico delle necropoli situate nelle aree più interne della zona medio-adriatica, appare evidente che persone con uno *status* sociale diverso potessero appartenere allo stesso clan.

A quanto pare, per mezzo dei corredi funerari, *status* sociale e 'ricchezza' venivano esibiti da uomini e donne in misura sostanzialmente analoga. Questo dato, insieme al fatto che anche alcune sepolture infantili mostrano uno *status* sociale elevato, sta probabilmente ad indicare che lo *status* sociale fosse ereditario. Per i bambini, in effetti, non esisteva altro modo per acquisire un determinato *status* sociale se non attraverso l'eredità. E' verosimile, tuttavia, che

⁹⁶ V. D'Ercole 1990, 164; Parise-Ruggeri 1982, 33 e Ruggeri-Baldelli 1982, 642.

⁹⁷ Come per es. nel caso delle fibule ad Alfedena. V. Parise-Ruggeri 1980. In buona sostanza, questa ipotesi rimane però ancora da verificare per tutte le necropoli separatamente, secondo il modello Vida Navarro 1992 e Toms 1998.

oltre allo status sociale ereditario esistesse anche una forma di *status* sociale acquisito, che solitamente viene espresso solo nelle tombe maschili.⁹⁸ Questo potrebbe essere una spiegazione per il fatto che, in linea generale, sono sepolti più uomini che donne e che, ad esempio, ad Alfedena più tombe maschili che femminili erano munite di un ripostiglio. Un'altra spiegazione per la preponderanza di sepolture maschili rispetto a quelle femminili, sta nell'ipotesi che gli uomini, nonostante la classe sociale alla quale appartenevano, avessero uno *status* sociale più elevato delle donne.⁹⁹

Come detto più volte, la distinzione fra tombe maschili e tombe femminili si fonda non solo sui risultati delle analisi osteologiche, ma anche, e soprattutto, sulle risultanze degli studi compiuti sugli oggetti di corredo. Molti altri aspetti del rito funebre, quali il tipo di sepoltura o la collocazione di olle nella tomba, caratterizzano sepolture maschili e femminili senza rilevanti elementi di distinzione. Questo potrebbe stare ad indicare che le donne venivano considerate per lo meno come membri della società a pieno titolo. Tuttavia l'appartenenza esclusiva del potere politico ai soggetti maschi della comunità è suggerita dalla presenza di armi nelle tombe maschili e da alcune iscrizioni funerarie: vedi ad esempio la parola *raki* (latino: *rex*) sul Guerriero di Capestrano e la parola *nír* (latino: *princeps*) (plurale: *nerf*) sulle stele di Loro Piceno, Sant'Omero e Penna Sant'Andrea.¹⁰⁰

Per quanto concerne i compiti che la donna del periodo arcaico ricopriva, non è purtroppo possibile definire con sufficiente sicurezza quali fossero le attività prevalenti alle quali la stessa si dedicasse. A prescindere dai consueti compiti domestici (come risulta chiaramente dal vasellame di Campovalano e dalle numerose fuseruole), inclusa la cura dei bambini, alcune donne potrebbero aver esercitato una funzione rituale. Le prove a sostegno di questa supposizione sono però piuttosto scarse: solo alcuni coltellini ritrovati tra gli oggetti di corredo testimonierebbero di questa funzione, anche se non è da escludere che fossero semplici utensili domestici. Per ciò che attiene al ruolo femminile nell'economia di sussistenza della comunità, la collaborazione delle stesse alle attività agricole dipendeva presumibilmente dal correlativo impegno degli uomini nelle attività legate alla guerra ed al mantenimento delle relazioni commerciali, oltre che dalla pesantezza del lavoro agricolo. Ma anche se non possediamo indizi sicuri su una fattiva collaborazione delle donne nelle attività agricole, il ruolo degli uomini nelle stesse attività non risulta a sua volta così evidente; sarebbe quindi errato escludere *a priori* una partecipazione delle donne a tali attività. Ritengo anzi, visto il carattere bellicoso degli

uomini di questa cultura, così come risulta dalla presenza di numerose armi nelle loro tombe, che le donne occupassero un ruolo non secondario nelle attività legate all'agricoltura. In più, è ragionevole pensare che anche le attività di filatura e tessitura travalicassero la semplice dimensione dell'economia domestica, vista la grande quantità di fuseruole ritrovate in alcune tombe femminili.

La fuseruola rinvenuta in una tomba maschile ad Atri e le tre tombe di Campovalano, che sulla base degli oggetti di corredo erano state inizialmente identificate come tombe maschili, ma i cui scheletri risultarono in seguito femminili,¹⁰¹ potrebbero far pensare, per questi soggetti, ad una possibile inversione dei ruoli di *gender*; ossia, individui di sesso maschile con ruolo di *gender* femminile e viceversa. Il fenomeno dei ruoli di *gender* 'flessibili' non è completamente sconosciuto nelle società protostoriche,¹⁰² ma ritengo che le indicazioni in nostro possesso siano troppo frammentarie per poter collocare i casi sopra citati nel quadro di tale problematica.

Una delle caratteristiche più vistose ed interessanti dei corredi funerari delle comunità medio-adriatiche è indubbiamente rappresentata dall'elevato numero di ornamenti che accompagnano le sepolture femminili. La minuziosa cura dell'abbigliamento femminile (al momento della morte, ma presumibilmente anche durante la vita), e quindi la particolare valorizzazione dell'aspetto esteriore delle donne, può in sintesi significare due cose. Si può pensare, *in primis*, che le donne della comunità venissero considerate come un sorta di 'bene prezioso' da esibire, uno strumento per poter ostentare in questo modo lo *status* e la ricchezza della propria comunità o clan. Non si può escludere che tale ruolo fosse funzionale alle esigenze di una precisa politica di matrimoni con altre comunità. La seconda ipotesi che si può avanzare, è che le donne ricoprissero una effettiva posizione di rilievo nella gerarchia sociale della comunità, e, su questa linea, era evidente e naturale che esprimessero tale posizione attraverso determinate abitudini ornamentali; ragionevolmente, in quest'ultimo caso, le donne esercitavano un potere di controllo sulle proprie ricchezze (in ipotesi, da loro stesse fabbricate).

⁹⁸ Wason 1994, 98-100.

⁹⁹ Parto qui dalla supposizione, che alcune donne siano sepolte altrove. Lo stesso vale per i bambini. Di sicuro nel caso dei bambini i rapporti sono distorti a tal punto, che non vedo altra soluzione per questo problema.

¹⁰⁰ V. La Regina 1986, 128/129.

¹⁰¹ V. nota 40.

¹⁰² V. ad es. Vida Navarro 1992, 67-99, sulla necropoli di Pontecagnano, Picentino, o M. Markantonatos in Whitehouse 1998, 189-191, su alcune tombe femminili munite di armi.

L'affermazione della prima ipotesi non esclude necessariamente la validità della seconda. Si può ragionevolmente pensare che le comunità medio-adriatiche riconoscessero alle proprie donne un ruolo rilevante nella esibizione dello *status* e della ricchezza del proprio clan, o della comunità intera. Questo ruolo non era riservato alle sole donne sposate o alle donne mature, considerato che, in linea generale, bambine e donne anziane erano

caratterizzate da sepolture che presentano un livello di ricchezza ugualmente alto – o, a volte, persino superiore. D'altro canto si può azzardare che, oltre la funzione strettamente rappresentativa, le donne occupassero un ruolo non marginale nell'andamento dell'economia della comunità. Se vi fosse stata una rilevante differenza di *status* fra uomini e donne, questa sarebbe stata presumibilmente espressa nel rito funerario.

APPENDICE¹

Località	Numero complessivo di tombe risalenti al periodo arcaico	Tombe maschili	Tombe femminili	Tombe infantili	Sesso ed età sconosciuti
Alfedena, scavi anni '70	132	56	42	16	18
Campovalano di Campli	ca. 250	ca. 100	ca. 50	ca. 50	ca. 50
Loreto Aprutino, Farina-Cardito	19	5	8	?	6
Loreto Aprutino, Colle Fiorano	23	7	7	7	2
Capestrano	21	4	3	2	12
Atri	40	12	13	5	10
Opi	153 ²	20	13	4	10

¹ Tutti i dati sono provvisori.

² Su 47 delle quali è stata effettuata l'analisi osteologica.

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Language, Metaphor, and the Semiotics of Roman Art

Some Thoughts on Reading the Mosaics of Mausoleum M in the Vatican Necropolis

Steven Hijmans

INTRODUCTION¹

A few years ago Paul Zanker noted that in the study of ancient art the perspective of the ancient viewer has been largely ignored until recently. In his opinion 'scholars have simply put themselves in the place of the ancient observer of any given historical period', and as a result 'the viewer is often only an ideal construct and tends to be imbued with knowledge of all antiquity, frequently acquired from sources such as the Roscher mythological lexicon or the Pauly-Wissowa encyclopedia'.² Zanker's comments are a reminder that the Greeks and Romans were real people viewing art within the context of their own experience and knowledge. In effect his remarks challenge the longstanding practice in the analysis of ancient art to assume that any information that seems relevant to us can *de facto* be deemed relevant to the problem at hand. Thus Zanker touches on a sore spot when he suggests that if our analyses are to have any weight, we must immerse ourselves in the perspective of the ancient viewer, rather than assume that it somehow coincided with our own.

Obviously, remedying this situation is neither straightforward nor simple. We must gauge the extent of iconographical knowledge shared (and deemed important) by the average contemporary ancient viewer, which *inter alia* entails establishing who that average ancient viewer was. At the same time we must keep in mind that information can be relevant without the ancient viewer necessarily having been aware of it. What we also need is a greater sensitivity for the gaps in our own knowledge. Classicists have all too often based sweeping conclusions on isolated or obscure snippets of evidence without adequately considering the possible loss of other, more relevant sources. Consequently, our field of studies is littered with the debris of erudite scholarship undone by some chance new discovery. While this is problematic in itself, it is all the more disconcerting because it implies that much more of what we think we know (and have enshrined in the Pauly Wissowa, for instance) may, in fact, be likewise built on quicksand.³ In short, Zanker's *caveat* would appear to leave us with a somewhat bleak

perspective. Clearly one must agree with him that it is very important to gain an understanding of ancient viewers and their frame of reference. Important work is being done in this respect.⁴ But the challenge is daunting, and reconstructing the frame of

¹ I would like to thank M.J. Haagsma, J. Kitchen, M. Kleibrink, and E.M. Moormann for their helpful comments and suggestions during the development of this article.

² P. Zanker, In search of the Roman Viewer, in: D. Buitron-Oliver (ed.), *The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome*, Washington, 1997, 179-191, p. 179.

³ For a radical critique of the manner in which our discipline has traditionally encouraged scholarship that strives for a seamless continuum of 'absolute knowledge' that pastes over the gaps in our data, see W. Ernst, *Archaeology as a Provocation to History*, in: K. Gilliver, W. Ernst, F. Scriba (eds.), *Archaeology, Ideology, Method – Inter-Academy Seminar on Current Archaeological Research 1993*, Rome 1996 (Canadian Academic Centre in Italy), 19-38. His deconstruction of Momigliano's use of data and mode of reasoning is food for thought. For examples of new discoveries causing scholarly 'wreckage' in the field of classics cf., e.g., G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, ²1993, xxii-xxiii, (on the impact of the Nag Hammadi texts on Festugière's work on Hermetism). As a minor example of the same, cf. the impact of the discovery of the *Fasti Ostienses* on Wissowa's understanding of Sol Indiges (Hijmans 1996, 117-8); note especially Wissowa's telling reaction to the newly discovered facts (*loc. cit.* n. 21). In using the term 'debris' I am following J. Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 6: '... we must tread carefully through our chosen area, strewn like a minefield with the intellectual wreckage (the views, positions and prejudices) of centuries of scholarship'. The extent to which prejudice directed the (over)interpretation of scant sources is well illustrated by the example of Sol Invictus – cf. Hijmans 1996.

⁴ J. Elsner, *op. cit.* n. 3, shows how essential it is to study ancient viewing practices if one wishes to understand the artistic transformation from classical to early medieval art. Cf. M. Marvin, 'Copying in Roman Sculpture: the Replica Series', in: E. D'Ambra, ed., *Roman Art in Context: an Anthology*, 161-188, in which the author utilizes Cicero's attitude towards Greek statues (and copies) as evinced in his letters, to refocus our understanding of the nature and purpose of Roman 'copies' of Greek originals. Cf. also Zanker's own work, e.g. *The Mask of Socrates. The Image of the intellectual in Antiquity*, Sather Classical Lectures v. 59, University of California Press, Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1995; idem, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, Ann Arbor 1988. For a different aspect of the importance of viewing: J. Elsner, 'Inventing imperium: texts and the propaganda of monuments in Augustan Rome', in: J. Elsner (ed.), *Art and Text in Roman Culture*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, 32-53, on the importance of the monumental (i.e. visual) impact of inscriptions (as opposed to their textual content).

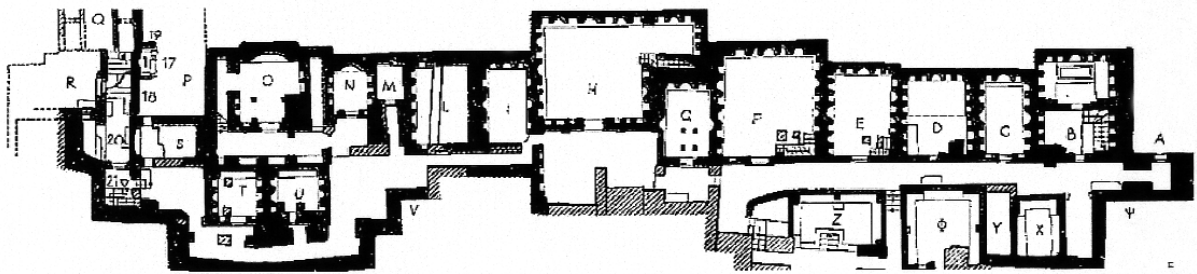


Fig. 1. Plan of the Vatican Necropolis.

reference of ancient viewers in more than the broadest terms could well be beyond us. Even so, many analyses of ancient art would benefit simply from a greater awareness of the importance of the ancient perspective and the gaps in our own.

It would be a mistake, however, to limit the scope of Zanker's remarks to the problem of reconstructing the extent of factual knowledge in antiquity. When Zanker accuses us of simply putting ourselves in the place of the ancient observer, he is not only referring to the knowledge with which we endow our 'ideal constructs' but also to their imputed method of viewing. Classicists have tended – implicitly – to imbue ancient viewers with an unparalleled approach to understanding art. This is the result of a still common practice either to study individual works of art in virtual isolation, and to arrive at their meaning primarily through reference to literary sources, or conversely to adduce some isolated work of art as illustration of a historical topic without any reference to its iconographic context. To put it bluntly, what scholars interpreting art in this manner assume, unwittingly, is that ancient viewers considered each work of art to be unique and unparalleled. Their methodology implies that ancient viewers did not interpret the images they saw by looking at the representation itself, its tradition, and the visual associations it evoked, but apparently supplied each individual image with appropriate verbal captions drawn from a text or series of texts. Of course no one has actually argued that this is how art was viewed in antiquity, and when stated in these stark terms, most would ridicule the suggestion. Nonetheless, to a greater or lesser extent this is the approach to understanding ancient art which underlies countless studies.⁵ Rather than discuss this in abstract terms only, I wish to illustrate my point with the example of the famous mosaic in Mausoleum M of the Vatican necropolis.⁶

This small, richly decorated mausoleum, close to the presumed tomb of St. Peter, is one of the most widely published discoveries in the Vatican necropolis under St. Peter's Basilica (fig. 1). No doubt the

Christian interpretation of the mosaic cycle in this mausoleum has contributed to its fame. Notably the figure in the vault, invariably interpreted as Christ-Helios, is thought to represent an important phase in the transition from Pagan to Christian art.⁷ When the mausoleum was first discovered in 1574, during the building of the new St. Peter's Basilica, an inscription was found above the doorway identifying it as the mausoleum of the Julii.⁸ It was built in the late 2nd c. AD in a restricted space left open between mausoleums L and N, and measures a mere 1.98 m. (l.) x 1.63 m. (w.) x ca. 2 m. (h.). Two cremation burials date to the first phase of the monument, and then at some point the mausoleum was completely redecorated; four inhumation burials postdate the remodeling. Like all mausolea in the necropolis, Mausoleum M ceased to be accessible following the

⁵ A typical example is the oft repeated assertion that Sol on coins of Heliogabalus minted in 219-221 represents Elagabal, the Ba'al of Emesa whose cult was introduced into Rome by the young priest-emperor; cf., e.g., M. Frey, *Untersuchungen zur Religion und zur Religionspolitik des Kaisers Elagabal*, Historia Einzelschriften 62, Stuttgart 1989, 78-9, 101-2. In fact, Sol first appeared on early Republican coins (latter part of the 3rd c. BC), and although rare in the Republic and early empire, coins depicting Sol were minted almost annually from the last decade of the 2nd c. AD until the early 20s of the 4th c. AD. There is nothing to suggest that the Sol on Heliogabalus's coins was any different from the preceding or subsequent coinage, the more so as Heliogabalus minted other coins which did depict Elagabal, represented in his typical guise of an aniconic rock. Cf. Hijmans 1996, 135-7 (with further examples of the use of decontextualized coins to support untenable theories).

⁶ This case-study is based on a previous article, published in Dutch: S. E. Hijmans, *Christus of Sol? Aanzet tot een herinterpretatie van het mozaïek in het Mausoleum van de Julii onder de St. Pieter*, *Lampas* 30.4/5, 1997, 372-385.

⁷ B. Apollonj-Ghetti, A. Ferrua, E. Josi & E. Kirschbaum, *Esplorazioni sotto la Confessione di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, Vatican City 1951; Perler 1953; Toynbee & Ward Perkins 1955; Lawrence 1961; Murray 1981; A. Effenberger, *Frühchristliche Kunst und Kultur. Von den Anfängen bis zum 7. Jahrhundert*, Munich 1986, 47-8; G.B. Ladner, *Handbuch der frühchristlichen Symbolik. Gott, Kosmos, Mensch*, Wiesbaden 1996, 36. On the presumed tomb of St. Peter, cf. J. Curran, *The Bones of Saint Peter?*, *Classics Ireland* 3 (1996), 18-46.

⁸ *CIL* VI, 20293.



Fig. 2. Mausoleum M. North wall, sketch.

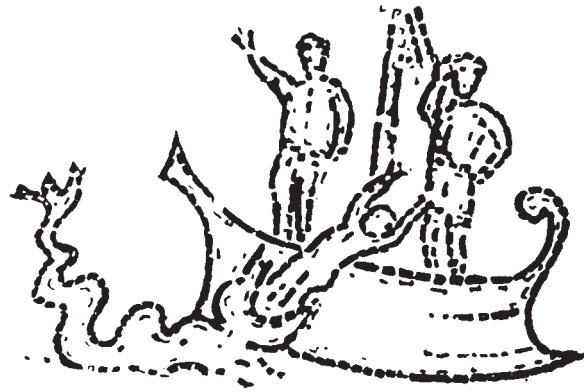


Fig. 3. Mausoleum M. East wall, sketch.

construction of the Constantinian basilica of St. Peter, begun around 320.

The decorations of the second phase form the topic of this discussion. They must be dated somewhere between the early 3rd and early 4th c. AD, but a more precise date has proven to be controversial, with suggestions spanning the whole range of possibilities. In my view style, parallels, and the fact that four of the six burials in the mausoleum post-date the refurbishment combine to suggest an earlier rather than later date, presumably in the first half of the third century AD.⁹ The lower part of the decoration-scheme consists of a fresco, about 1 m. high, which rather schematically imitates marble incrustation. A simple, moulded ledge separates it from a mosaic above, which covers the upper part of the walls and the vaulted ceiling in a continuous, borderless pattern. Only the S-wall, with the doorway, remained undecorated. Although about three quarters of the mosaic itself have disappeared, the preliminary design painted in the underlying stucco has been largely preserved, allowing us to recognize the full iconographic cycle (fig. 4). Against a golden background a vine springs from each corner and spirals across the three walls and the vault, framing an open space in the centre of each. These four spaces are populated with a figure or scene. Opposite the entrance on the rear (North) wall, an angler is depicted in the act of catching a large fish; a second fish can be seen swimming away (fig. 2). The figure on the left-hand (West) wall has been poorly preserved, as here part of the plaster has also disappeared, but he can be recognized as a man carrying a sheep on his shoulder. On the right-hand (East) wall we see a ship with two men on board, each raising his right arm. Between them, but outside the ship, is an upright man whose legs disappear in the

jaws of a large sea monster with a magnificent spiraling tail swimming alongside (figs. 3, 4). In the vault a man stands on a chariot obliquely behind two rearing horses. A large hole next to the horses and the oblique position of the chariot suggest that this was originally a quadriga, with the two other horses destroyed by the hole. The man is dressed in a chiton and chlamys. He has raised his right hand and holds a blue globe in his left. His head is nimbate with seven projecting rays (figs. 5, 6).

From the moment they were discovered these mosaics exerted a strong appeal on art historians. The scenes on the walls were identified as Jonah (East), the Angler (North) and the Good Shepherd (West), all well-known in early Christian art. This led scholars to conclude that the mausoleum was Christian and that consequently the figure in the vault must also be interpreted in Christian terms, despite the fact that his iconography (radiate nimbus, raised right hand, globe, quadriga) is wholly that of Sol Invictus, the Roman sun god. To explain this, scholars suggested that in this case he was not Sol, but Christ depicted in the guise of Sol as the New Light and the Sun of Justice. In the words of Lawrence (1961, 334): 'This is the Sun God, Sol Invictus, but also Christ the light of the world (Augustine), the

⁹ The closest iconographic parallel for the decoration of Mausoleum M is the depiction of Sol in the vault of a mausoleum destroyed in the 18th c., but described and illustrated by F. de' Ficoroni, *La Bolla D'oro de' fanciulli nobili Romani e quelle de' Libertini ed altre singolarità spettanti a' Mausolei nuovamente scuopertisi*, Rome, 1732, 35-9. Both the association of cremation burials with inhumation burials as well as the inscriptions found here suggest a date in the latter part of the 2nd or possibly early 3rd c. AD. On the inscriptions, cf. F. Cumont, *Il Sole vindice dei delitti ed il simbolo delle mani alzate*, *MemPontAcc* 1, 1923, 65-80.



Fig. 4. Mausoleum M. East wall, plaster with preliminary design.

radiant light of God (Philo), in the brightness of His Glory (Hebrews 1, 3), Christ the conqueror with the globe in His hand (...).¹⁰

As this passage illustrates, scholars have turned to literary metaphors in support of this interpretation. Inspired by the studies of Dölger, Perler (1953, 13-32) quotes numerous early Christian passages to prove the existence of a solar symbolism in relation to Christ.¹¹ He concludes that Sol, in the vault, represents Christ as victor over death rising up to heaven,¹² an interpretation accepted by Toynbee and Ward Perkins (1956, 116-117), Lawrence (1961), and others. Murray (1981, 64), however, rejects it as too narrowly defined and based too strongly on texts. In her view, the iconography of the figure in the vault is not that of Sol Invictus, widely believed to be a Syrian sun-god imported into Rome in the 3rd c. AD, but that of the Greek Helios. She contends that Helios lacked the connotations of invincibility so characteristic of the Syrian Sol, and that therefore Perler's conclusion that the figure represents the victorious Christ becomes untenable. On the other hand, she agrees with Perler that the figure in the vault must represent Christ, and suggests

that the scenes on the walls represent variations of the salvation of the soul, while Christ as solar charioteer in the vault symbolizes its apotheosis.¹³ Thus while the precise meaning of the iconographic cycle is disputed, the basic Christian identity of the scenes has remained unchallenged.¹⁴

This Christian interpretation leaves us with an iconographic cycle which is unparalleled, and that is a bad sign, the more so because the individual elements of the scene (vine, sheep-bearer, angler, Jonah, and Sol) are anything but unique in Roman imperial art.

¹⁰ Toynbee & Ward Perkins 1955, 74: 'Since, then, the wall-mosaics are unequivocally Christian in content, the charioteer (...) can be none other than Christus-Helios – Christ the Sun, *Sol Salutis* and *Sol Iustitiae*.' Cf. Perler 1953, 7-8; Murray 1981, 77-84, to mention but a few examples. Cf. also n. 7.

¹¹ F.J. Dölger, *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit*, Münster, 1918; idem, *Sol Salutis: Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum; mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Ostung in Gebet und Liturgie*, Münster, 1925.

¹² Perler 1953, 49.

¹³ Murray 1981, 77-84.

¹⁴ To my knowledge, the only concerted challenge to date is my own article, *op. cit.* n. 6.

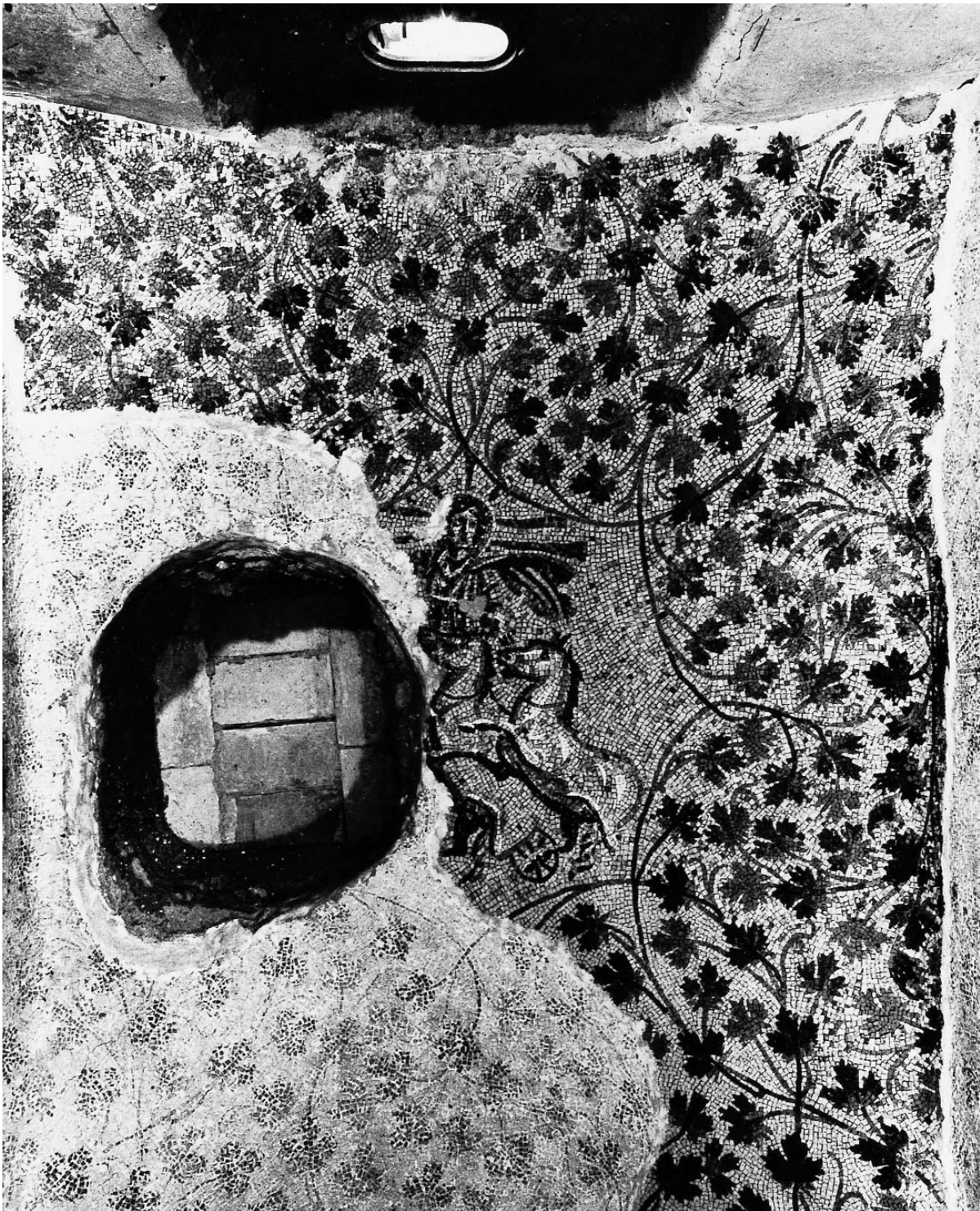


Fig. 5. Mausoleum M. Vault.



Fig. 6. Mausoleum M. Vault, detail.

The problem is that there is simply no parallel for Christ in the guise of Sol.¹⁵ Upon closer consideration, it becomes apparent that we have here a clear example of confusing description with interpretation. From the outset, all scholars dealing with this mausoleum have 'described' the scene on the right-hand wall as Jonah and therefore assumed that the combination with the 'Good' shepherd and the 'biblical' angler proves that the mausoleum must be Christian. Proceeding from that assumption, they feel compelled to hunt for a Christian interpretation of

the figure in the vault. If one makes a much stricter distinction between description, analysis and interpretation, it becomes apparent that an *interpretatio Christiana* of the mosaic cycle is by no means self-evident, and that the underlying iconographic pattern, hitherto overlooked, is actually quite common in Roman art.

¹⁵ Murray 1981, 78-9. The parallels adduced by some, e.g. Perler (1953, 36-40), generally represent neither Sol nor Christ, and never Christ-Sol combined.

To begin with, there is the vine and the lack of borders, which together emphasize the interconnectedness of the scenes. Clearly they combine to form a single theme. That theme has a clear rhythm. On the right-hand wall, with the ship, three men, and a sea-monster, the dominant element is the sea. The shepherd on the left-hand wall is land-based. On the rear wall, with the angler, the transition from land to water is obvious. The position of the vault, the radiance of its central figure, and the upward swinging motion of his chariot suggest light and sky. Taken together, then, the scenes represent the world (in the broadest sense). It is tempting complete the pattern with the floor and the burials below, although we must not forget that both the lower part of the wall, with its imitation marble frescoes, as well as the moulded ledge separating it from the mosaic, form a strong barrier between the upper and the lower part of the mausoleum. Nonetheless, it is attractive to suggest that the mosaics represent the world (land, sea, and sky) and the lower half of the mausoleum stands for the underworld – which would mean that the mausoleum as a whole mirrors the cosmos.

As a first step towards interpreting the mosaics of Mausoleum M, this analysis has a number of advantages. To begin with, there are numerous parallels for this basic rhythm of land, sea, and sky in Roman art in general as well as more specifically in funerary art. In the 3rd c. AD, notably the angler and the sheepbearer are often set in antithesis to each other.¹⁶ In other examples, the angler is replaced by the ocean and at times the basic pattern is expanded to include other figures.¹⁷ The mosaics thus reflect a common rhythm in 3rd c. funerary art, and would recall to the viewer other funerary monuments that shared the same basic rhythm, and numerous other works of art in general that shared the same common iconographic themes.

Any further analysis of these mosaics, then, must proceed from the basic cosmic pattern they represent, and study the further visual associations they would have evoked, deriving an interpretation of the cycle as a whole from the interplay of those associations. This promises to be very rewarding, because even at first glance we can guess at further, more complex patterns of meaning, such as ‘loss and redemption’ for instance: the man going overboard on the right-hand wall and, it would seem, being swallowed by the *ketos* could stand for loss; the sheep on the shoulders of the man in the scene on the left-hand wall would then represent salvation; the angler, again, takes an intermediate position, in the actual act of catching the fish. The upward springing chariot and its radiant charioteer in the vault stand in contrast to the darkness of the floor

and the graves below, and can be interpreted in a similar vein. Nonetheless, at this stage it is too early to actually identify and interpret such patterns, as this presupposes too much in the interpretation of the individual scenes. The man swallowed by the *ketos* is particularly suited to this theme if he is Jonah, but this has yet to be established. Likewise, it may seem less than straightforward to interpret the catching of the fish in these terms – after all the fish will presumably lose its life, which would hardly be ‘redeeming’. One could refer to passages like Math. 4, 19¹⁸ to argue that the connotations of fishing often were those of redemption, but the relevance of such an interpretation has again not yet been established. In short, before we can identify and analyze such patterns we must first establish the iconographic connotations and contexts of each of the scenes individually. For it is the interaction between these scenes and their contextual connotations which will help reveal further patterns in the iconographic cycle as a whole that transcend the basic rhythm of land, sea, and sky.

Unfortunately, while it is well-known that there are many parallels in Roman art for each of the scenes in mausoleum M, there is no tradition in Classical studies to study such scenes as a group in such a manner that the art itself and its tradition are analyzed as a source of information for their meaning. The charioteer in the vault is a case in point. It has numerous iconographic parallels in Roman art, spanning the period from the first c. BC (and earlier) to the 4th c. AD. All display a marked unity of iconography and leave no doubt that this is Sol.¹⁹ Parallels include scenes in pagan funerary contexts, the closest of which was a painting, now lost, in the vault of one of the 92 mausoleums formerly in the Vigna Moroni in Rome, mentioned above (n. 9).

¹⁶ B. Andreae, *Studien zur römischen Grabkunst*, Heidelberg 1963, 131-162; Engemann 1969, 1071-1074; Engemann 1983, 583-587.

¹⁷ Cf. The sarcophagus of the nine-year-old Florentius Domitius Marinius (Vatican, Museo Pio Cristiano 31661). Marinius himself is depicted in the centre, flanked by Tellus (left) and Oceanos (right) reclining opposite a *ketos*. On the right-hand corner there is a sheepbearer, on the left-hand corner a hunter carrying a rabbit and accompanied by a dog. Cf. Also the famous La Gayolle sarcophagus, on which are depicted (from left to right): a radiate bust of a man; an angler; an orant; a seated philosopher; a sheepbearer; Hades (J. Wilpert, *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi*, Rome, 3 vols., 1929-1936, vol. I, 7,131 pl. 1.3). Here the two central figures are flanked by the sky/sun and the sea on the one hand (radiate bust and angler), counterbalanced by land and the underworld on the other side (sheepbearer, Hades).

¹⁸ ‘Jesus said to them, “Come to me, and I will make you fishers of men”’. Cf. Perler 1953, 8-10, for other examples.

¹⁹ LIMC s.v. Helios/Sol; Hijmans 1996.



Fig. 7. Fresco of Sol, 3rd quarter 1st c. AD, Naples, Mus. Naz. 9819.

There too, Sol, radiate (11 rays), was depicted in a frontal quadriga, wearing a long chiton and chlamys, his right hand raised and holding the reins in his left.²⁰ Other mausoleums also contained depictions of Sol,²¹ including Mausoleum B in the same complex as Mausoleum M.²² Taken together, the large number of iconographic parallels in general as well as the specific funerary parallels should provide us with valuable information concerning the nature and meaning of Sol in this context. However, no analysis of this rich material has been published. In fact, until C. Letta's lemma on 'Helios/Sol' in the *LIMC*, there was not even a database of images to turn to, and the *LIMC* itself, though useful, is less helpful than it could be in relation to this study: neither the depiction of Sol in Mausoleum M nor any of the funerary parallels referred to above are listed in it, and it gives only the most superficial analyses of the depictions it does include. Thus it becomes a major research project to arrive at even the most basic answers to some of the questions we need to ask concerning the iconographic tradition of Sol, such as its chronology, the social contexts in which it occurs, its shifts in meaning, its religious connotations, its geographic distribution, etc. Without answers to those questions we cannot even begin to grasp the associations this image in Mausoleum M would have evoked in contemporary viewers, and without an idea of those associations we cannot attempt to interpret the meaning of this figure, far less that of the mosaic as a whole.

As chance would have it, the case of Sol also illustrates with exceptional clarity why we cannot make do with a shortcut via literary and other sources. If we were to rely on the information in our handbooks and encyclopedia's, we would assume that the Sol depicted here was an oriental newcomer to Rome. According to the Oxford Classical Dictionary 'the name of the sun is given to two utterly different deities in Rome. The older is Sol Indiges. (...) This cult was native, apparently (...). Much later and certainly foreign (Syrian) is the worship of deus Sol Invictus (the invincible Sun-god), to give him his most characteristic title.'²³ As I have shown elsewhere, a review of the material record pertaining to Sol reveals that neither this dichotomy between Sol Indiges and Sol Invictus, nor the chronology related to it is sustainable. There is no essential iconographic difference between early depictions of Sol (e.g. in Pompeii) and those of the later empire (figs. 7, 8); the postulated chronological hiatuses between the early Sol and that of the third century AD, and between the Sol of Elagabal and the Sol of Aurelian simply do not exist; and at no time does the iconography of the Roman Sol resemble that of any of the (relatively unimportant) oriental solar deities (fig. 9).

In fact, even the literary sources offer no basis for the suggestion that any aspect of Sol was at any time 'oriental' or orientally inspired. They were misinterpreted by scholars in the nineteenth century biased against the cult of the Roman emperor in general, which they perceived to be a typical example of 'oriental despotism', and the cult of Sol in particular which in their view was closely related to the ruler cult.²⁴ On the nature and cult of Sol, literary sources actually offer very little concrete information, and the manner in which they have been interpreted, as enshrined in our handbooks, is downright misleading.

A fairly superficial analysis of the material record sufficed to test, and reject, accepted theories concerning the cult of Sol Invictus as set out in our handbooks, but this negative result leaves us in limbo. To replace previous theories we can return, again, to the scant literary sources,²⁵ but that does not help us with our iconographic analysis, and literary sources in any case have little to offer concerning the chronology, the social and geographic contexts, the religious connotations, etc., of the cult of Sol Invictus. The material record is more promising in this respect, but requires a much more painstaking analysis, not just of the depictions of Sol himself, but also of the contexts in which they occur. As my current research is focused on this, I can sketch some preliminary results here.

We have already seen that Sol as a deity had a continuous, unbroken tradition in Rome as far back as we can trace Roman religion.²⁶ While there were shifts in the nature of the cult, the suggestion that the later Roman Sol was a completely different, Syrian deity, who replaced the earlier Sol Indiges has no merit. In Augustan times, close links between Sol and Apollo were emphasized, in literature as well as in art. At the same time, an autonomous cult of Sol also continued to exist, *inter alia* in connection with the circus. The importance of Sol gradually increased and reached its peak in the last quarter

²⁰ De' Ficoroni, *op. cit.* n. 9, 35-39.

²¹ Cf. F. Weege, Das goldene Haus des Nero, *Jdl* 28 (1913), 127-244, 186 fig. 28.

²² Mielsch & von Hesberg 1986, 11-38. The total number of parallels in funerary art is admittedly small, but it must be remembered that depictions in vaults or ceilings of mausolea have rarely survived.

²³ S. Hornblower & A. Spawforth (eds.), *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford, 1996, 1420-1421 s.v. Sol. Note that scholars have always maintained that Sol Indiges had disappeared from the scene long before the arrival of Sol Invictus. For a review of previous scholarship on Sol Indiges and Sol Invictus, cf. Hijmans 1996, 115-126.

²⁴ Hijmans 1996, *passim*, especially 118-123 (sources), 137-8 (iconography).

²⁵ Cf., e.g., W. Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, Leiden 1995.

²⁶ Cf. Hijmans 1996.



Fig. 8. Relief of Sol, 4th c. AD, Rome, Mus. Cap. 2326.

of the 3rd c. AD, with the dedication of Aurelian's temple in Rome as well as various dedications in Italy and other regions of the Empire. Throughout the history of Roman religion, Sol thus had a generally minor, but uninterrupted role as a god in the traditional sense of Roman (and Greek) paganism. In addition to this, he also played a prominent role as one of the planetary gods in the astronomical and astrological as well as the more generally 'scientific' trends which became increasingly important in Roman Imperial religion from the 1st c. AD onwards. The concept of the 7 planets (Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn) each representing a day in the week was well established in Rome by the 1st c. AD (fig. 10).²⁷ In the same period, we see a reaffirmation of the symbolic meaning of the pair Sol-Luna as short-hand for *aeternitas* in a wide range of contexts. It is as a planetary or cosmic figure of this type that he is especially common. He is often depicted, generally with Luna, as a minor figure in cultic art related to a range of other deities, the most important of which are Mithras, Jupiter Dolichenus, Aphrodite of Aphrodisias, Saturnus Africanus, the Celtic Jupiter, and the Danube Rider. Sol appeared only sporadically on Roman Imperial coins until the last decade of the 2nd c. AD, after which he occurs almost annually, often on more than one issue, until the early 4th c. AD. In other art, Sol occurs in a wide variety of contexts, ranging from finger rings and oil lamps, to reliefs, mosaics, and cult statues. The connotations of Sol thus range from the religious to the symbolic, but invariably with pagan associations.²⁸ This suggests that a Roman visitor to Mausoleum M in the middle of the 3rd c. AD would be at ease with a symbolic interpretation of the vault figure (sky, light, eternity) within a broader pagan or religiously neutral context, but would balk at an *interpretatio Christiana* of Sol, and especially one which identifies this thoroughly pagan figure as Christ himself.

These strong pagan connotations of Sol thus pose a challenge to the interpretation of the scene of the right-hand wall, invariably said to be Jonah. Even if we accept that identification itself, the question remains whether the pagan connotations of the well-established figure of Sol in the dominant position of the vault convey a pagan sense to all scenes (including Jonah), or whether the scene of Jonah, still relatively new to Roman art, was already so clearly defined as quintessentially Christian that it neutralized all pagan connotations of Sol even in the mind of a Roman viewer. And what influence would the scenes of the angler and the sheepbearer have exerted in this respect? Clearly the iconography of Jonah, the sheepbearer, the angler, and, for that matter, the vine must be studied with equal care and

along similar lines, as the iconography of Sol. Such comprehensive studies are lacking and we cannot even turn to the *LIMC* as our point of departure, because these figures are not part of Classical Mythology. Nor can we turn to other encyclopedia's and handbooks for information with any more confidence than we could in the case of Sol. Here we face, if anything, even more 'intellectual wreckage' of past scholarship, a result of the long and exceptionally biased tradition in Christian art history and archaeology which insisted in treating all 'later' imperial depictions of Jonah, sheepbearers, and even anglers *a priori* as Christian (cf., e.g., n. 10 above).²⁹ From that perspective, the case of Jonah may seem the most straightforward. There are clear compendia of this scene, which was still a newcomer to Roman art at the time the mosaic in Mausoleum M was produced, and both date and context of most Jonah scenes have made scholars confident that all representations of this story can be interpreted as Christian. Nonetheless, it has long been suggested that the Christian Jonah-iconography had its roots in Jewish and even pagan precursors. Wischmeyer (1984) and others have argued that the story of Jonah is a relatively late inclusion in the old testament and is situated in Jaffa, which was predominantly non-Jewish. There are parallels in Greek

²⁷ Cf. fresco with planetary gods in Naples, Mus. Naz. 9519, Ch. Long, *The Pompeii Calendar Medallions*, *AJA* 96 (1992), 477-501, fig. 2 (with refs.).

²⁸ Mention should be made of a small group of mosaic floors in NE Palestine, dating from the 3rd to the 5th c. AD, which have a central panel depicting Sol in a chariot within a zodiac circle, and two other panels filled with Jewish objects and symbols. These floors occur in a very small geographic area at great distance from Rome, and are clearly iconographically closely related to each other. Cf. H.G. Gundel, *Zodiakos*, Mainz am Rhein 1992, 234-6 nrs. 87-92 (with refs.); Z. Weiss & E. Netzer, *Promise and Redemption. A Synagogue Mosaic from Sepphoris*, Jerusalem 1996, 26-8, 35-6 (with refs. to other synagogues); L.I. Levine and Z. Weiss (eds.), *From Dura to Sepphoris: studies in Jewish art and society in late antiquity*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series no. 40, 2000.

²⁹ As Engemann (1983, 257) puts it: 'Man muss (...) zugeben, dass die Erklärungsprobleme zu einem grossen Teil ihre Ursache in methodischen Fehlern hatten, die in der Christlichen Archäologie weit verbreitet waren, aber bei Bildern, die sowohl von Heiden wie von Christen verwendet worden sind, besonders schnell in die Irre führen mussten: Da ist einmal die oft voreilige Bereitschaft zu der Annahme, eine Darstellung, die einen bestimmten Gegenstand oder eine bestimmte Szene aus dem Alten oder Neuen Testament oder einem anderen antiken Text darstellen könnte, stelle diesen auch tatsächlich dar – unabhängig davon, ob ausreichende Hinweise im Bildzusammenhang diese Annahme stützen oder nicht. Zum anderen machte man den methodischen Fehler, eine für Einzelfälle gesicherte Bilderklärung voreilig zu verallgemeinern.' Thus for centuries it was assumed that all sheepbearers represented Christ, and even well after WWII, according to Engemann, scholars still tenaciously defended the Christian connotations of all sheepbearers in later Roman imperial art.



Fig. 9. Relief of the triad of Baalshamin (centre), Malakbel (right, sun-god) and Aglibol (left, moon), 3rd (?) c. AD, Paris, Louvre.

myths concerning the *ketos*, because in certain versions both Perseus (rescuing Andromeda) and Hercules (Hesione) were swallowed by the *ketos* first, before killing it from inside.³⁰ Wischmeyer actually postulates a famous pagan depiction of the *ketos* and 'Jonah' in Jaffa, illustrating the lost, local story which inspired both the Jewish Jonah as well as the various related Greek myths.³¹ He believes that this was still extant in imperial times and may have inspired the early Christian Jonah scenes. All this is highly speculative of course, but it is worth noting that some of the early Jonah-scenes contain surprisingly many pagan components.³² Certainly the automatic assumption that in Rome only Christians would use this Jewish scene with its pagan connotations is at least open to question. What is needed is a closer study of the iconography of Jonah and its links with earlier and contemporary *ketos*-iconography and related scenes. We also need to reexamine closely the context of early Jonah-scenes. Even if the iconography of Jonah is itself a

wholly Christian creation, without Jewish or Pagan precursors, there is no compelling reason to assume that it was of interest to Christians only. Could not

³⁰ For Perseus: Lyc. *Alex.* 834-840; Pliny *N.H.* 5, 128; cf. Kuhnert in Roscher III², 2004, 2020 s.v. Perseus. Hercules: Hellan. frgm. 136-137; Lyc. *Alex.* 33-37 (cf. 476-478). Weicker (*RE* VIII, 1241 s.v. Hesione 5) believes this to be the oldest extant version of the myth.

³¹ On the importance, in Jaffa, of the *Ketos*, cf. Plin. *N.H.* 5, 69: *colitur illic* [sc. Joppa] *fabulosa Ceto*. Pliny (*N.H.* 9, 11) states that M. Scaurus, aedil in 58 BC, transported a gigantic skeleton from Jaffa to Rome, reputed to be the skeleton of the *ketos* killed by Perseus.

³² For earlier discussions of pre-Christian Jonah-precursors, cf. the literature referred to by E. Kirschbaum, ed., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* 2 p. 415 s.v. Jonas. Wischmeyer overstates his case, and as far as the art is concerned, the pagan 'parallels' he cites (p. 712) are not only far-fetched (Jason, swallowed by the dragon at Colchis before killing it ultimately from inside – or being saved by Medea), but also some 600-700 years earlier than the earliest extant Jonah-scenes. Cf. *LIMC* s.v. Iason, 30-35. For Pagan inclusions in Jonah-scenes, cf. H. Sichtermann, 'Der Jonaszyklus', in: H. Beck & P.C. Bol (eds.), *Spätantike und frühes Christentum*, Frankfurt am Main 1983, 241-248, p. 243-4.

the source and nature of the theme have made it attractive to pagans, Jews, and lapsed Christians as well?

Needless to say, we are at present even less well equipped to study the iconographic traditions and connotations of anglers, sheepbearers, and vines.³³ In short, the present state of our information does not allow us to determine with any certainty the general religious environment in which Mausoleum M was decorated, far less arrive at a more profound interpretation of the iconographic cycle. We simply lack the type of studies we need to be able to view and interpret the art in the mausoleum as a Roman would. As the example of Sol has illustrated, the material we need is available, and if studied adequately, should reveal important new information concerning this mosaic, the mausoleum, and Roman funerary art of the 3rd c. AD in general. The example has also shown, however, how critical we must be in our evaluation of previous scholarship dealing with these themes. We must do a great deal of additional research before we can attempt to further read the mosaics of mausoleum M with 'Roman' eyes.

While we have seen the potential, and the importance of a viewer-oriented iconographic analysis of the mosaics of Mausoleum M, we have yet to discuss the objections against 'translating' a literary metaphor (Christ as Sol) into art. For this, we must shift our discussion to a more theoretical analysis of the nature of Roman art.

It is something of a truism to state that Roman art could be 'read', and as Brilliant reminds us, the claim that ancient art constitutes a source of information which demands autonomous study and independent interpretation is hardly new.³⁴ While there may be no consensus on how, precisely, to 'read' Roman art, there is thus a general sense that the Romans could and did use art to formulate and disseminate meaningful messages.³⁵ Inevitably, it did so without recourse to literature. For if art is to communicate meaning at all, it must function independently, adhering to set rules allowing minimum levels of coherence and consistency, and not depend on other forms of communication – notably texts – for clarification. In short, because Roman art could disseminate messages, it was a semiotic system, if one takes semiotics to be concerned with all systems of signification in interpersonal communication.³⁶

While this realization itself will hardly be deemed controversial, its methodological implications have not been sufficiently acknowledged. Scholars still routinely support and supplement their analyses of ancient art with references to ancient texts, to the point that texts often all but displace the art as the actual dispensers of meaning. Such use of literary

sources violates a basic characteristic of any coherent semiotic system, namely that it is complete in itself, i.e. that it can communicate its meaning without recourse to other systems, and that it is unique. As Chandler (*op. cit.* n. 36) puts it: 'Different media and genres provide different frameworks for representing experience, facilitating some forms of expression and inhibiting others.' A corollary of this difference between genres and a fundamental principle of semiotic systems is that they are not 'synonymous'. This is very important, because it emphasizes that we can never convey identical messages in systems based on different units.³⁷

For Roman art this means that a given work could be understood through its iconography, attributes, context, parallels, and the like. To give a concrete example, it is obvious that Romans did not need to refer to the *Iliad* in order to recognize a particular statue of the Pasquino-type as, say, Achilles and Patroclus, because its details of iconography (e.g. Achilles's shield) would have sufficed. The statue is not an illustration of a passage in the *Iliad*, nor is its iconography dictated by that passage. It is an independent reference to a part of ancient culture – the

³³ On vines in Roman funerary art, cf. F. Ghedini & M. Salvadori, *Vigne e verzieri nel repertorio funerario romano: fra tradizione e innovazione*, *RdA* 23 (1999), 82-93, with thanks to E.M. Moormann for drawing my attention to this article.

³⁴ R. Brilliant, 'Some reflections on the "new Roman art history"', *JRA* 11 (1998), 557-565. Cf., e.g., Heinrich Brunn in his rectoral address of November 21st, 1885, as quoted by S.L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996, 143-4.

³⁵ As J. Elsner notes in the introduction to his *Art and Text in Roman Culture*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, 3 (with references), there is no 'obviously apparent' approach to Roman art, although various modes of 'reading' art loom large in the potential approaches he lists.

³⁶ T. de Lauretis, *Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema*, London: Macmillan, 1984, p. 167, quoted by D. Chandler: *Semiotics for Beginners* [WWW document] URL <http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/semiotic.html> [1994; visited August 2000]. On Roman art as a semiotic (or semantic) system cf. T. Hölscher, *Römische Bildsprache als semantisches System*, Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Jahrg. 1987, 2. Abhandlung, Heidelberg, C. Winter, 1987. It is not my aim to discuss *how* art in general or Roman art in particular functions as a semiotic system, nor do I wish to entangle myself in the debate on the roles of 'aesthetics' and 'message' in art (cf., e.g., J. Barry, *Semiotics and Aesthetics as Theories of Art*, *Semiotics* 1993, 347-354).

³⁷ Cf. R. E. Innis (Ed.), *Semiotics: An Introductory Reader*, London: Hutchinson, 1986, 235; J. Lechte, *Fifty Key Contemporary Thinkers: From Structuralism to Postmodernity*, London: Routledge, 1994, 43 – both references taken from Chandler, *op. cit.* n. 36, who gives further examples. On the problem of 'meaning', cf., M. Black, *How Do Pictures Represent?*, in: E.H. Gombrich, *Art, Perception, and Reality*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press 1972, 95-130; M. Bal & N. Bryson, *Semiotics and Art History*, *Art Bulletin* 73 (1991), 174-208; 206-208.



Fig. 10. Fresco, planetary gods, Naples, Mus. Naz. 9519 (18th c. engraving).

legends of Troy – to which the epics of Homer and countless other Greek and Roman works of art and literature likewise refer. Consequently the meaning of the statue is not defined by or in any way dependent upon the aforementioned passage of the *Iliad*, but by the myriad associations evoked both by the statue and its context, of which the said passage is but one. In fact, to have any meaning at all, the same statue must have the potential to have different shades of meaning in different contexts: artistic masterpiece in imperial baths, Homeric literature in a Greek library, etc. All this is so straightforward, of course, as to go without saying. But the implications for the role of texts are often overlooked. Assuming that we have texts at our disposal which refer to the same concepts as a given work of art we are studying, they do so by definition in a different manner because art and texts constitute two distinct semiotic genres which cannot illustrate the same concept in identical ways. Because the two by definition cannot be wholly synonymous, we cannot read the texts to understand the art.

This assertion that the meaning of art and texts can never fully overlap deserves closer attention. It is often argued that of all the semiotic systems, language is the dominant one into which the others can be subsumed. E.H. Gombrich, e.g., asserts that ‘statements cannot be translated into images’ and that ‘pictures cannot assert’, while others claim that ‘in practice, language is a semiotic into which all other semiotics may be translated’.³⁸ This is in stark contrast to the position taken by many archaeologists, who argue that not just art, but material culture as a whole is meaningfully constituted, often in ways ‘beyond’ verballity. As Hodder puts it, ‘when material culture meanings are considered, “what people say” is often very different from “what people do”’.³⁹ In other words, the manner in which social practices are represented verbally need not coincide with the manner in which they are reflected in the material culture. This does not mean that all aspects of material culture have a function in fully fledged semiotic codes (Hodder, *op. cit.* n. 39, 74), but it does remind us that meaning can be constituted in many non-verbal ways and – more importantly – that there are instances in which non-verbal communicators are more directly informative than

verbal communication, or at least provide contrasting information not otherwise available. Where the past is concerned, one reason for this can be the masking use of language, as in the examples Hodder adduces (e.g., *op. cit.* n. 39, 73-4). In such cases, verbal information is counterbalanced and corrected with that provided by the (non-verbal) material culture sources. While these examples show the power of material sources as carriers of information, they do not counter the claim that language is intrinsically the most powerful, that is to say the ‘interpreting system of all other interpreting systems’.⁴⁰ Hodder emphasizes that in contrast to semiotic systems, most material culture, though meaningfully constituted, is not necessarily *produced* to be meaningful, that is to say is not endowed with primarily symbolic functions. A pot may tell us something about society, but that does not make the pot a symbol in a semiotic system. Note, however, that Hodder does not discuss those specific realms of material culture, such as art, of which a primary function can be the symbolic one of a semiotic system.

The importance of Hodder’s archaeological perspective is that it reminds us of the role context plays in establishing meaning. While the pot itself need not be a symbol in the semiotic sense, it can derive specific meaning from its context. Even the most common piece of Chinese pottery, for instance, would have had special significance if displayed in Marco Polo’s living room. In discussions of the communicative power of semiotic systems, context should play a central role. Verbal communication, for instance, is flexible and rich in detail, but time-consuming and fleeting if oral, bulky if recorded.

³⁸ E.H. Gombrich, *The Image and the Eye: Further Studies in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*. London: Phaidon, 1982; 138, 175. E.H. Gombrich, *The Uses of Images*. London: Phaidon 2000; for contrasting views cf.: G. Genosko: *Baudrillard and Signs: Signification Ablaze*. London: Routledge, 1994, 57-68; L. Manovic, Describing the Structure of a Visual Image, *Semiotics* 1989, 193-200. F. Sainte-Martin, *Sémiologie du Langage Visuel*. Québec: Presses de L’Université du Québec, 1987. Barry, *op. cit.* n. 36, 353. Bal & Bryson *op. cit.* n. 37, *passim*, especially 202-206.

³⁹ I. Hodder, *The Archaeological process, An Introduction*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1999, 73.

⁴⁰ Chandler *op. cit.* n. 36, with refs.



Fig. 11. Apse mosaic, early 12th c. AD, Rome, S. Clemente.

Art, by contrast, though less explicit and detailed, is more immediate and enduring. Leaving aside for a moment the fact that there are aspects of art which can never be captured in words, we should consider that there are countless contexts in which art has the greater communicative power. A purely random example could be the apse mosaics in medieval Roman churches. These disseminate highly detailed, complex messages concerning both the nature of Christianity in general as well as the particular church where they are located. The S. Clemente mosaic, for instance (*fig. 11*), depicts Christ on a cross in the centre, with twelve doves on the cross. From the foot of the cross, vine scrolls spiral to either side, covering the whole apse with a regular pattern. Below the root of these vines, four rivers emerge from a hill, flanked by two deer. Various other animals, birds and people occupy the space below and between the scrolls. Above the cross a hand emerges from a canopy holding a wreath.

Many more figures and symbols populate the lower band of the apse as well as the arch. Thus even without going into detail, it is obvious that this mosaic has a carefully designed, meaningfully constituted composition. Of the individual images making up the mosaic, some may refer more or less directly to texts.⁴¹ But the mosaic as a whole is not a visualisation of these texts. It conveys its own range of messages, from the profound to the banal or straightforward. At the core we see the death of Christ on the Cross as source of life-bringing faith (the rivers) and church (the vine) encompassing the whole world (apse, and all depicted therein) below the heaven (canopy) and God (hand). Countless

⁴¹ The deer drinking from the rivers in the S. Clemente mosaic remind us of Psalm 42 ('As a hind longs for the running streams / so do I long for thee, O God'), and thus the rivers from which they drink become not just the four rivers of Paradise, but also symbolize the life-giving water of the Holy Spirit.

details expand on this, sometimes obscurely: there is the wreath in the hand of God, the apostles as doves on the cross, caged birds and free ones, peacocks, chickens and sheep, church fathers, noblemen and peasants; the list goes on. Typically straightforward is the depiction, *inter alia*, of S. Clement and S. Laurentius on the arch, reminding us that the church is dedicated to these two martyrs. Quite obscure are certain winged genii.⁴²

Clearly, such apse mosaics communicate concepts and meaning on multiple levels. It is not just through their iconography, but also their position, composition, and pure beauty that they interact with those that view them. Today, a tourist or pilgrim entering the church will be struck by these mosaics on any given day – provided he has the appropriate change with him – but in the days before instant light, when these mosaics were normally shadowy and dim, their impact on the faithful on, say, a dark November 23rd, when the church was ablaze with light for the feast of St. Clement, must have been profound. They dominate and define the church through their position, beauty, and content, and no conceivable form of text could possibly replace them or duplicate their particular impact. Their contribution to the *meaning* of the church is unique. In my view, then, to claim that language is a semiotic into which all others can be subsumed is untenable. This would imply that the apse mosaics could be replaced by linguistic messages with identical impact, which, of course, is not the case. The conclusion is clear. Art, like language, can be an effective semiotic system used to communicate concepts and in many contexts it can be the most effective system available.⁴³

This pervasive importance of the visual can be illustrated by the fact that even texts themselves can function primarily as signs in a visually oriented semiotic system. It has been argued that many inscriptions were primarily monuments, not meant to be read as much as to be seen. Such inscriptions convey their first and foremost message through their physical presence in durable material ('this is exceptionally important') in, perhaps, a public ('concerns us all') or sacred ('holy') place. While some of the text may be written in larger letters or otherwise highlighted, allowing the viewer to further identify what is important (peace treaty, code of laws, *Res Gestae*), and why it is there, the bulk of many inscriptions is to all practical purposes illegible. Thus if we agree with Elsner (*loc. cit.* n. 4) that this was clearly the case with the *Res Gestae* of Augustus, then our publications of the *Res Gestae*, which represent it as an immediately accessible text and make scant mention (if any) of its physical nature and original setting(s) are a distortion of the

actual function and meaning of the monument. In fact, we have here a clear illustration of Zanker's point, because all publications of and on the *Res Gestae* (barring Elsner's) in effect ignore the Roman viewer and that which (s)he saw when viewing the *Res Gestae*.

Returning to Roman art, then, it is now obvious why we cannot presume to understand the potentialities of the image of the anthropomorphic sun, by turning to the word *Sol* within Latin literature. As each is part of a distinct semiotic system, the two by definition cannot be synonymous and each must develop its meaning without reliance on the other. Beyond that basic principle there is obviously interaction between the systems; the two naturally contribute jointly – and together with others – to the concept *Sun* within Roman culture as a whole. However, to appreciate their joint contributions, a clear understanding of the individual systems is indispensable. The example of Mausoleum M illustrates this clearly. In this case, the shift from 'Sol' in literature to 'Sol' in art was exceptionally radical, because in the literature referred to, 'Sol' was used metaphorically for Christ. What was postulated, is that 'Sol' as metaphor can be used synonymously in both literature and art. Yet literature, by its very nature, can build up metaphors without at any point leaving the reader/listener confused as to who or what is being meant. All passages quoted by Perler and others refer to Christ, and subsequently compare him to (the light of) the sun. Christ is not Sol, but merely as Sol in those texts. Art, by contrast, being instantaneous, cannot construct its metaphors diachronically, but must do so iconographically. Because he lacks iconographic indications to the contrary, the figure in the vault is Sol, not some other figure likened to Sol through the addition of Solar attributes. He may be a metaphor for some other concept in this context, but that too must be deduced from the conventions and principles of Roman art. One can never postulate that a metaphorical use of Sol in one semiotic genre (e.g.

⁴² On the mosaic, cf. J. Barclay Lloyd, *The Medieval Church and Canonry of S. Clemente in Rome*, San Clemente Miscellany III, Rome 1989, 43-51 (with refs.).

⁴³ As Manovic (*op. cit.* n. 38, 194) puts it: 'In a nutshell, we see more than we can put in words'. On the power of visual communication, cf. R. Scheiper, *Bildpropaganda der römischen Kaiserzeit unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Trajanssäule in Rom und korrespondierender Münzen*, Bonn, Rudolf Habelt, 1982, 23: 'Optische Mittel sind entwicklungsgeschichtlich wahrscheinlich die ältesten Formen der zwischenmenschlichen Verständigung und bis heute die wirksamsten und unmittelbarsten Formen des Empfangs publizistischer Aussagen geblieben.' Scheiper speaks as a student of communication sciences. On the shortcomings of her study of Trajan's column, cf. T. Hölscher in *Gnomon* 56, 1984, 182-4.

literature) can be duplicated both synonymously and in isolation (i.e. without parallel) in another (e.g. art). This does not exclude the possibility, unlikely though it may seem, that in Mausoleum M Sol actually does stand for Christ, but indicates the irrelevance of any literary passages in establishing that. The example of Mausoleum M also shows that at present we are still ill-equipped to actually read such figures as Sol in the vault as artistic metaphors. For that, our understanding of Roman art as a semiotic system is still too intuitive, patchy, and in general flawed. Because Classicists have traditionally stepped back and forth between specific elements or expressions of Roman art – produced in a system still poorly understood – and texts written in Latin or Greek, the resulting circular arguments have often seriously impeded our understanding of important topics. In the case of Sol, another fine example of this is the interpretation L'Orange gave to the raised right hand typical of Sol's later iconography (cf. *fig. 8*).⁴⁴ As we have seen, a demonstrably flawed, but long accepted interpretation of the scant literary sources suggested that under the Severi a new sun-god was introduced into Rome from Syria. Switching from these sources to Roman art, L'Orange assumed that because Sol Invictus was a Syrian deity there must be something in his iconography which identified him as such. Noting that the raised right hand is characteristic of the iconography of numerous Syrian deities in Roman times, he concluded that the raised right hand of Sol was the characteristic which identified him as Syrian in the eyes of Roman viewers. Ergo: the representations of Sol confirmed the written sources. This conclusion stood unchallenged for many decades, although it cannot survive even a superficial reading of the iconography of Sol restricted to the semiotic principles of Roman art itself. Such a reading reveals *inter alia* 1. that the iconography of Sol remained constant throughout antiquity, the only innovation being the introduction of the raised right hand; 2. that this gesture had many antecedents in Roman and Italic art (*adlocutio* gesture); 3. that all non-Roman deities are identified as foreign in Roman art through their clothing and/or attributes, never through gestures only; 4. that non-Roman deities were very rarely depicted on Roman Imperial coinage, while Sol appeared on some 1500 issues between the late 2nd and early 4th c. AD; 5. that in Syrian art before the later 3rd c. AD, solar deities rarely have their right hand raised (!); 6. that solar deities in Syrian art are depicted as fully armed war gods (*fig. 9*) while Sol Invictus is not. In short, if L'Orange had approached Roman art as an independent semiotic system, he would easily have read Sol as a Roman god with a long, uninterrupted tradition in Roman art. He would have recognized

that as depicted, Sol is no more closely related to the Syrian sun gods than he is to any other local solar deity.

L'Orange was wrong-footed because there was no methodological tradition for reading Roman art independently and as a result he had no 'entry' in a 'dictionary' of Roman art to turn to which defined the icon of Sol within that semiotic system. With this article, I hope to have made a case for a small but essential shift in emphasis in the study of Roman art and iconography (and of ancient art in general) in this respect. We must treat it for what it was, a semiotic system in its own right. That means that we must learn (or rather: relearn) to read Roman art without recourse to texts, accepting that if it was conceived and produced as a medium which could 'speak for itself', then we must allow it to do so. We cannot achieve this unless we follow the lead of lexica such as the *LIMC*, and produce far more wide-ranging art-dictionaries which offer 'lemmata' on all elements of Roman art, based on analyses which respect the nature and limits of that semiotic system. With the availability of such entries for the vine, Jonah, the angler, the sheepbearer, and Sol, for instance, we could expect to arrive at an analysis of the mosaics of Mausoleum M that is more in line with what Roman viewers saw in them. I am confident that with these tools, if we attempt to read Roman art as the Romans did, we may gain in monuments such as Mausoleum M an array of new 'texts' with their own contributions, in consort with literary sources, to our understanding of the social, political, religious, and historical concepts and events which make up the Roman past. But we cannot achieve that without first returning to the basics, painstakingly collecting and analyzing images systematically to build a *Thesaurus Artis Romanae*, that *conditio sine qua non* for the reading of Roman art.⁴⁵

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⁴⁴ H.P. L'Orange, Sol Invictus Imperator. Ein Beitrag zur Apotheose, *Symbolae Osloensis* XIV, 86-114, 93-4.

⁴⁵ On the thorny theoretical issues involved with such a project, cf. the literature referred to in notes 36-38. Manovic (*op. cit.* n. 38, 193), e.g., argues that an empirical approach such as I am proposing here 'will never get off the ground' because 'the formal tools to describe pictorial organization are not readily available'. While I disagree with the solution he proposes, I recognize the problem.

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Two new Corinthian kotylai painters from San Francesco Square's 'stipe' in Catania

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Among the Corinthian pottery from the San Francesco Square's deposit,¹ the kotylai are the most numerous class (906 pieces),² as it is the rule in the case of votive-deposits (for example Tocra, Perachora, Selinus³). Most specimens with black figures date back to the Middle Corinthian period, probably to the advanced phase. In fact, only the latest products of the most typical Middle Corinthian painters are represented, while the kotylai painters, who started their activity in the Early Corinthian period, are not represented. Moreover, to the Late Corinthian period we can assign only specimens, numerous though they are, by the Chaeroneia group and only one specimen of the kotylai with a row of goats to the right which are typical of advanced Late Corinthian. Most of the black-figured kotylai from the San Francesco's deposit are of poor quality. They were manufactured in workshops of the Potters' Quarter in Corinth by painters who elaborated an ordinary style suitable to the form of vases and to the tastes of clients, ever more numerous and ever less demanding. J.L. Benson has labelled this output 'mass production'. While not undervaluing the difficulties, he has stressed the importance of a study about the identification of different workshops and painters of kotylai, even of poor style of drawing, in order to define a more complete picture of the production and distribution of Corinthian workshops.⁴ D.A. Amyx overlooked this point in his comprehensive study about archaic Corinthian pottery, ignoring most of the kotylai painters identified by Benson and limiting his attention to the painters of fine style.⁵ Benson's study has been continued by C.W. Neeft, who has recognized, though with some specifications, the painters and groups identified by Benson, even increasing the number of attributions and identifying also new painters and workshops, above all on the basis of vases from Taranto and Gela.⁶ Systematic study of the Corinthian kotylai from the San Francesco Square's deposit has permitted to count thirty-eight painters or groups, some already known – of which, in some cases, we have precisely defined activity and characteristics – and some new, identified on the ground of unpublished material.⁷ In particular, we have identified two new painters who, for their stylistic similarity, probably worked in the same workshop and whose identification, for the

reasons here given, seems of some interest. We are able to assign twelve specimens, among which one nearly complete one for each hand. These are big kotylai (h. max. 12 cm without foot, diam. rim 19 cm) with a large and low body and a convex-rectilinear profile; the foot, preserved only with one fragment, has a rectilinear profile and is similar to the VII type of Lawrence's classification.⁸ The clay is very purified, typical of Corinthian vases, and the colour is yellow with pinkish overtone.⁹ Common to all specimens (which belong to Payne's class NC 928-940)¹⁰ is the decoration with the animal frieze constituted by a goat to the right under one of the handles between two panthers and a bird, also to the right, under the other handle. The quadrupeds bodies are very long and the faces have a funny expression. On the field there are big irregular blobs and rows of dots above the back and under the stomach of the quadrupeds. The animal frieze is bordered by double bands; in the handle's area there are always vertical wavy lines, one band on the rim, and long rays at the base. The stylistic elements, which permit to distinguish the works of the two painters, are the rendering of the panther's heads and shoulders and the incised details on the backs; moreover, the goat's heads and the backs of the regarant birds differ in drawing.

To the first painter (*figs. 1-4*), named the Painter of Catania KC 4125 from his best preserved specimen, we can attribute nine specimens from Catania. The panther's shoulder resembles an omega with a curved incision in the centre, and this shoulder's drawing can also be seen with his goats. In the panther's heads, the ears are not indicated with incisions and the vertical lines of the nose run all the way to

¹ Rizza 1960.

² Grasso 1998.

³ Boardman-Hayes 1966; Dunbabin 1962; Dehl-von Kaenel 1995.

⁴ Benson 1983; Benson 1985.

⁵ Amyx 1988.

⁶ Neeft's study on Corinthian vase painters is forthcoming.

⁷ I would like to thank C.W. Neeft for his readiness to let me consult his photographic archive.

⁸ Amyx-Lawrence 1975, 76 fig. 1.

⁹ Torrisi a.o. 1996.

¹⁰ Payne 1931, 308.



Figs. 1-4. Painter of Catania KC4125.

the forehead; moreover, there are one or two incisions resembling concentric semicircles on the left side of the head. On the back, there are three characteristically curved lines, and in the central part of the body there are four or five transversal lines. In the goats' heads, the eyes are oval and the eyebrows are indicated with two incised curved lines, two more incised lines mark the left side of the head; the horns are drawn like a single element with two small protuberances. The regardant bird has a bulging body, no neck, and, on the body, the wings are indicated with vertical and horizontal incisions.

To the second painter (*figs. 5-8*), named the Painter of Catania KC 4144 from the homonymous kotyle, it is possible to assign three fragments.¹¹ In these specimens, the shoulders of the panthers to the right are drawn like an omega, while the shoulders of the panthers to the left are drawn like a pressed cushion

with a central incision. In the heads, the outline of the faces is indicated with a single curved incision; the vertical lines of the nose meet the ear's incisions in the panthers to the right, while in the panthers to the left the lines of the nose meet a straight line which marks the superior limit of the faces. On the back there are three long parallel lines and two small incisions, curved in the panthers to the right and straight in those to the left. The goats' eyes show two concentric circles, while the horns are two divergent elements of different dimensions. The regardant bird has a biconical body, a long neck running without demarcation into the head, in which only the eye is drawn with a small circle.

¹¹ We have attributed to this painter also the fragment KC 4128 before assigned to workshop (Grasso 1988, 33-34 no. 83).



Figs. 5-8. Painter of Catania KC4144.

As far as chronology is concerned, the poor quality of drawing and the stylistic similarities with the KP-64 Workshop¹² and in particular with the Rennes Painter,¹³ permit us to propose a date at the transition from the Middle to the Late Corinthian period, that is, 575-560 B.C.

Apart from the Catania specimens, we can provisionally assign a few other items to these painters. To the Painter of Catania KC 4125 belong a kotyle in Hanover,¹⁴ a fragment from the Asklepieion in Corinth,¹⁵ and an unpublished fragment from Argilos. To the Painter of Catania KC 4144 can be attributed another unpublished fragment from Argilos and a fragment from the Artemision at Thasos, also unpublished. In other words, only four attributable fragments were found in Greece, none in Sicily or Southern Italy except for those from Catania. Since we must reject the possibility of a local production, proposed in similar cases by

Benson,¹⁶ seeing that the clay and decoration are typical of Corinthian products,¹⁷ we have to wonder about the route followed by our vases from Corinth to Catania.¹⁸ They may have been produced mainly for export, in particular to Catania.¹⁹

¹² Amyx-Lawrence 1974, 36 no. 107.

¹³ That is, the Painter of the Laon Kotyle (Benson 1983, 325) renamed Rennes Painter by Neeft after a better preserved kotyle in this town (CVA France 29, pl. 10:3-4).

¹⁴ Terrace 1957, no. 11.

¹⁵ Amyx-Lawrence 1996, 25, pl. 22:88.

¹⁶ Benson 1984; Benson 1985.

¹⁷ For local imitations of Corinthian pottery in Southern Italy, see Neeft 1996.

¹⁸ The presence of similar kotylai in Corinth on the one hand and in the West (Taranto, Tocra, Gela, Selinus) on the other allows us to assume that these vases may have come to Catania following either the ionic-tyrrhenian route or the african route (Giudice 1987 and 1989).

¹⁹ Dehl-von Kaenel 1994.

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Tiburtinus lapis

The use of travertine in Ostia

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1. INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1999 a team of nine students¹ and the present writers measured and inventoried travertine building elements and non-architectural objects in Ostia, its cemeteries outside the *Porta Romana* and the *Porta Laurentina*, and in *Isola Sacra*. With the use of dBase III+, more than 3000 objects were marked on maps and registered, including the dates of buildings as proposed by G. Calza and others in *Scavi di Ostia I* (1953), P. Pensabene (1972), Thea Heres (1982), C. Pavolini (1983) and I. Baldassare (1996).

Travertine was used for stairs, thresholds (more than 1200), doorposts, lintels, door- and windowframes, foundation stones, substructures, stereobate, tomb walls, corner and pillar bases, buttresses,² bases, columns, capitals (Pensabene 1972), capital-cushions (It. *cunei/pulvini*), pillars, buffer stones (on the corners of buildings), corbels (consoles), springers, corner- (on the frontal corners of doorways or pillars) and bar stones (centralized at the inside of doorways or pillars to fix doorbars), keystones, floors, latrine seats, benches, gutters, small sluice pillars in drainage-channels, intramural blocks, pavings, sidewalks, curbstones, and centralized blocks in basalt streets.

Travertine was also used in non-architectural elements such as *cippi* (e.g. boundary stones), inscribed (usually funerary) panels, well mouths, *putealia*, small altars, socles for statues, reliefs, pounding blocks, weights,³ and rectangular containers for ash urns.

2. WRITTEN SOURCES

Vitruvius defined travertine (Lat. *Tiburtinus lapis*) as a middle-hard stone from the region of Tibur (modern Tivoli), able to withstand damage from heavy loads and bad weather, but susceptible to fire damage because of its dry and porous character (*De Arch.* 2, 7, 1-2):

Tiburtina (sc. saxa) vero et quae eodem genere sunt omnia, sufferunt et ab oneribus et a tempestatibus iniurias, sed ab igni non possunt esse tuta.....

Pliny (*N.H.* 36, 48, 167) gives similar information:

Tiburtini (sc. lapides), ad reliqua fortes, vapore dissiliunt.

(Travertine is split by heat, though it stands up to the other forces). He adds that when Cicero saw the marble walls of the Chians, which were meant as a show piece for their visitors, he remarked: 'I should be much more amazed if you had made it of stone from Tibur.' According to Strabo (*Geogr.* 5, 3, 11) travertine was easily transported by the Anio, a navigable river which flows into the Tiber. The references to travertine in the literary sources are very scarce. It is clear that Vitruvius and Pliny mention travertine because of its load bearing ability. Nowhere, however, do they discuss its use in buildings or any of its other functions. As we shall see, travertine was not only used for support.

3. QUARRIES

Roman age travertine quarries are located west of Tivoli 2.5 km from Tenuta del Barco, between Tenuta Martellone and the Tivoli Mountains.⁴ In antiquity travertine blocks were transported by carriage over twenty-two kilometers to Rome on a road 6.5 m wide.

Travertine is a calcareous sedimentary rock. Hot springs deposited it in layers on the ground during the Quaternary period of the Middle Pleistocene

¹ Rebecca van de Berg (bases), Vincent Deurwaarder (corner-stones), Bart Corver (centralized streetslabs), Guiot C. Dürmeijer (thresholds with relief), Carl J.A. van Hees (columns), Giseke R.M. Hopstaken (thresholds without relief), Eric Norde (corbels), Gerdine M. de Rooij (staircases), Marloes P.H. van der Sommen (sidewalks) and some volunteers. Preliminary bibliographical research on travertine in ancient Rome was done by David Murray (Bowdoin College, USA). He and drs Gwen Tolud corrected the English text. Many thanks to all, and especially to Mrs. Dr A. Gallina Zevi, *Soprintendente di Ostia Antica*, who gave permission to the research and offered unforgettable hospitality. Thanks also to dottori Bedello, Belfiore, Germoni, Izzi, Marinucci, Miraglia, Panariti, Pellegrino, Vallocchia (*Sopr. Ostia Antica*). The research did not include *Palazzo Imperiale* which will be published by dr Joanne Spurza (New York; see *ArchLaz* 10 (1990) 157-163). All photographs have been made by the authors.

² Rickman 1971, 60, pl. 32.

³ *CIL* XIV, suppl. I, 5316, 1, 4.

⁴ Mari 1984, 359-370.



Fig. 1. Two boundary cippi, *Decumanus Maximus* (II.9.2)

Latial volcanism. The formation process involves a crystallization of calcium carbonate (CaCO_3) from water containing calcium bicarbonate ($\text{Ca}(\text{HCO}_3)_2$) while carbon dioxide (CO_2) is released. This is a process comparable to the growth of stalactites and stalagmites. When first quarried travertine is soft, but as it dries it becomes more sturdy. The layers mentioned above vary in height from 45 to 60 cm. In Roman times cubic blocks with sides ranging from 120 to 180 cm were sawn from the rock. According to Lanciani the Romans would have transported c. 5.5 million tons of travertine to Rome. For the *Amphitheatrum Flavium* alone c. 1000 tons were transported daily by c. 150 carriages during a period of four years.

4. TRAVERTINE IN OSTIA

The use of travertine in Ostia raises many questions:

1. When was it first used?
2. How long was it used?
3. When was it popular and why?
4. How was it used and in which context? What are the reasons for its use?

5. Is the use of travertine functional, decorative or both? Has it been a status-symbol?
6. Did it replace the more expensive marble?
7. Was there any standardization of building elements?

There is no evidence for the use of travertine in Ostia's earliest settlement, the so-called *Castrum*, which was recently dated to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century B.C. Travertine also fails to appear in the oldest known *domus* at Ostia, built after the second Punic War and before the period of Sulla.⁵

The oldest non-architectural objects may be six boundary stones (*cippi*), standing in one line along the northern side of the eastern *Decumanus*, between *Via dei Molini* and a place just to the east of the *Porta Romana*, one of the three main entrances of the so-called Sullan wall.⁶ They stand c. 600 m (c. 2000 Roman feet) apart from one another at irregular intervals, more than one metre below the level of the street, which was raised in the period of

⁵ See A. Martin, in: Gallina Zevi/Claridge (1996) 19-38.

⁶ Meiggs 1973, 32, 472, 594. *NSc* 1910, 233.



Fig. 2. Temple of the Round Altar, interior (I.xv.6)

Domitian. They show identical inscriptions (fig. 1, to the right):

C.CANINIVS.C.F.
PR. VRB
DE.SEN.SENT
POPLIC.IOVDIC

which means that Gaius Caninius, son of Gaius, *pr(aetor) urb(anus)*, based on a decision of the Senate, ordained that the area between the *cippi* and the Tiber was public, this means forbidden for private building (CIL XIV 4702). This (*ager*) *poplicus* (*publicus*) was later restricted by another travertine boundary stone, put directly beside the 5th Caninius stone (on the east), bearing the inscription (fig. 1, to the left):

PRIVATVM
AD TIBERIM
VSQUE AD
AQUAM

which means: private area to the Tiber just to the water (CIL 4703). The Caninius *cippi* date from c. 150 to c. 80 B.C. Scholars disagree on a more specific date for the *cippi*, but travertine was first used at Rome in 109 B.C. in the Mulvian bridge.⁷ So the date of the *cippi* may be restricted between c. 109 and 80 B.C.

The northern bank of the Tiber, now '*fiume morto*', had at least five travertine boundary stones, placed by C. Antistius Vetus and other *curatores riparum et alvei Tiberis* (surveyors over the banks and bedding of the Tiber). G. Barbieri dates them after 23 A.D., the year in which Antistius became consul.⁸ Other early boundary stones have been found in the Sanctuary of the Four Republican Temples in reg. II (77 x 24 cm). The four *cippi* bear the inscription *I.O.M.S. (Iovi Optimo Maximo sacrum)* (CIL XIV 4292). They have been dated to the period between Caesar and Claudius.⁹

Another two exceptional *cippi* have been found to the west of the *horrea* (V, i, 2) which date to about 50 A.D. Both have the same inscription: SEMITA HOR P R I (cross-road/path of the *horrea*; the meaning of the unique abbreviation P R I is unknown).¹⁰

⁷ J.B. Ward Perkins, *EAA* IV (1961) 864-5. About the *privatum-cippus*, see Meiggs 1973, 472.

⁸ Meiggs 1973, 115, 594. *SO* I, 62.

⁹ Meiggs 1973, 346.

¹⁰ Bakker 1994, 197-8; Bakker (ed.) 1999, 113. Bakker suggests: '*principium regionis* I', or '*primae regionis initium*.' CIL XIV, 352 confirms that Ostia had at least 5 *regiones*. R.E.A Palmer



Fig. 3. Detail of threshold (IV.i.9)

Thus they mention the only name we know of an Ostian by-way, which runs north-south from the eastern *Decumanus* meeting the southern *Cardo Maximus* not far from the *Porta Laurentina*.

As for the funerary use of *cippi*, the tombs in the cemetery outside *Porta Laurentina* offer the most interesting examples. Standing in front of tombs, they are rounded on top and they mention the names of the deceased. The cemetery can be dated roughly from the end of the Republican period to the end of the first century A.D. As an alternative, inscribed panels inserted into the facade, have also been used. Travertine panels frequently occur in the cemetery outside *Porta Romana*, usually mentioning the name of the deceased and the measures of the front and sides (in Roman *pedes*) of the tomb.¹¹ Most tombs can be dated between the period of Augustus and c. 100 A.D. Marble panels are rare here. A socle of travertine inscribed with the words *Herculi Hermogeniano Sacrum* and dating to about 50 A.D. was found at a short distance from the Tomb of Hermogenes.¹²

It should be noted that in *Isola Sacra*, which was in use mainly during the second century A.D., travertine *cippi* are completely absent and only marble inscriptions occur.

This implies that c. 100 A.D. there must have been a shift from travertine to marble panels.

The oldest travertine building elements are visible in the monumental Temple of Hercules (I.xv.5), which R. Meiggs dates to the closing years of the second century B.C.¹³ The temple's *terminus ante quem* is c. 70 B.C., which is the latest possible date for the famous haruspex-relief, one of the marble ex-votos found near the temple. The two steps of the *crepidoma* on the sides and on the back, and the eight wide steps of the stairs on the front are of travertine. The rest of the exterior of the podium has been built in *opus quasi-reticulatum*. To the south-west of the Hercules temple, in the triangular area, stands the so-called Temple of the Round Altar, which also may date to the first century. On a lower level, just in front of the temple and partially under it, three reused blocks of travertine flank a tufa altar (now replaced by modern copies). They bear Greek inscriptions¹⁴ and were originally used as statue socles. Zevi dates them to the period of Sulla.¹⁵ In order to be transported from Greece to Ostia, the three statues were removed from their original socles and were replaced with new travertine socles inscribed with their original texts once they reached Ostia. In the Augustan period, the threshold and doorposts at the entrance of the temple were restored to marble. However, for the substructure of the threshold, travertine was used. The threshold's ends are distinctly raised (fig. 2) like separate side blocks, a phenomenon occurring frequently in later centuries (fig. 3). Even in the fourth century A.D. travertine side-blocks flanked marble thresholds. Other Republican temples do not show travertine elements probably because they underwent modifications during the Imperial period.

Of particular interest are the remains of a Sullan *domus* behind the (later) *Sede degli Augustali*. The peristyle has slender Tuscan columns of tufa, but the columns on the four corners are travertine.¹⁶ A similar phenomenon of aesthetic corner accentuation is

(JRA 1996) suggests: *pri(vata)*. F. Coarelli suggests: '*populi Romani iussu*'.

¹¹ Funerary inscriptions on travertine *cippi* or panels from Ostia are mentioned in *CIL* XIV, 707, 717, 718, 978, 1094, 1120, 1301, 1387, 1477, 1477a, 1685, 1757, 1871; *CIL* XIV, Suppl. I, 4287, 4494, 4778 (?), 4874, 4881, 4882, 4893, 4919, 4921, 4938, 5034, 5099, 5170, 5182, 5228.

¹² Meiggs 1973, 350. *CIL* XIV, 4287.

¹³ Meiggs 1973, 581-2. Zevi 1976, 54.

¹⁴ W. Helbig, *Führer* IV (1972), nr. 3388.

¹⁵ Zevi 1976, 60.

¹⁶ *SO* I, 111.



Fig. 4. *Horrea of Hortensius* (V.xii.1)

visible in the Claudian *Horrea of Hortensius* (fig. 4).¹⁷ It was evidently a tradition which lasted more than a century.

It should be noted that the Temple of Roma and Augustus, one of the first temples built in the Imperial period under Tiberius, incorporated *opus reticulatum* and marble, but no travertine. It is evident that later temples use relatively little travertine. The *Capitolium*, built during the Hadrianic period, has split windows of travertine only. The theater built by Agrippa in 12 B.C. shows a strikingly ambiguous use of marble and travertine. Enlarged in about 196 A.D. the outside of the theater's *cavea* has travertine pillar bases and stairs but the seats inside are marble. This is an example of selective and hierarchic use of building materials. Marble accentuates the interior while the use of travertine on the exterior is more economical and limits the risk of damage from the street. This type of design may occur as early as the Augustan period. Supporting this argument are two tombs outside *Porta Marina* which show a similar combination of materials. The famous monumental Mausoleum of C. Cartilius Poplicola, which dates between c. 30 and 25 B.C., has travertine sides, a tufa back, and a marble facade

with inscriptions and reliefs.¹⁸ On one hand travertine works as a substitute for more expensive marble, while on the other hand it was considered more prestigious than tufa. The other contemporaneous mausoleum, just outside the *Porta Marina* and unfortunately without an inscription, is almost entirely travertine. Only the lost tholos was of Luna marble. Here too the most eye catching part was accentuated by the most expensive material.

Up until the age of Augustus porticoes were made using tufa. Although the Emperor found Rome as a city of bricks and left it as a city of marble, the same cannot be said of Ostia. Nevertheless some indications of face lifting the streets can be seen at this time. At least three porticoes with columns of travertine were built: 1) just in front of the (later) *Terme del Faro* along the southern *Cardo Maximus* (IV.ii.1; SO I, 108), 2) on the corner of the western *decumanus* and the *Via degli Aurighi* (III.iii.1; SO I, 109) and 3) at the western side of the *Via Epagathiana* (I.xiv.9; SO I, 111) in front of the later *Terme di Buticoso*. A facade with Tuscan columns was built

¹⁷ Meiggs 1973, 45.

¹⁸ Zevi 1976, 56-9.

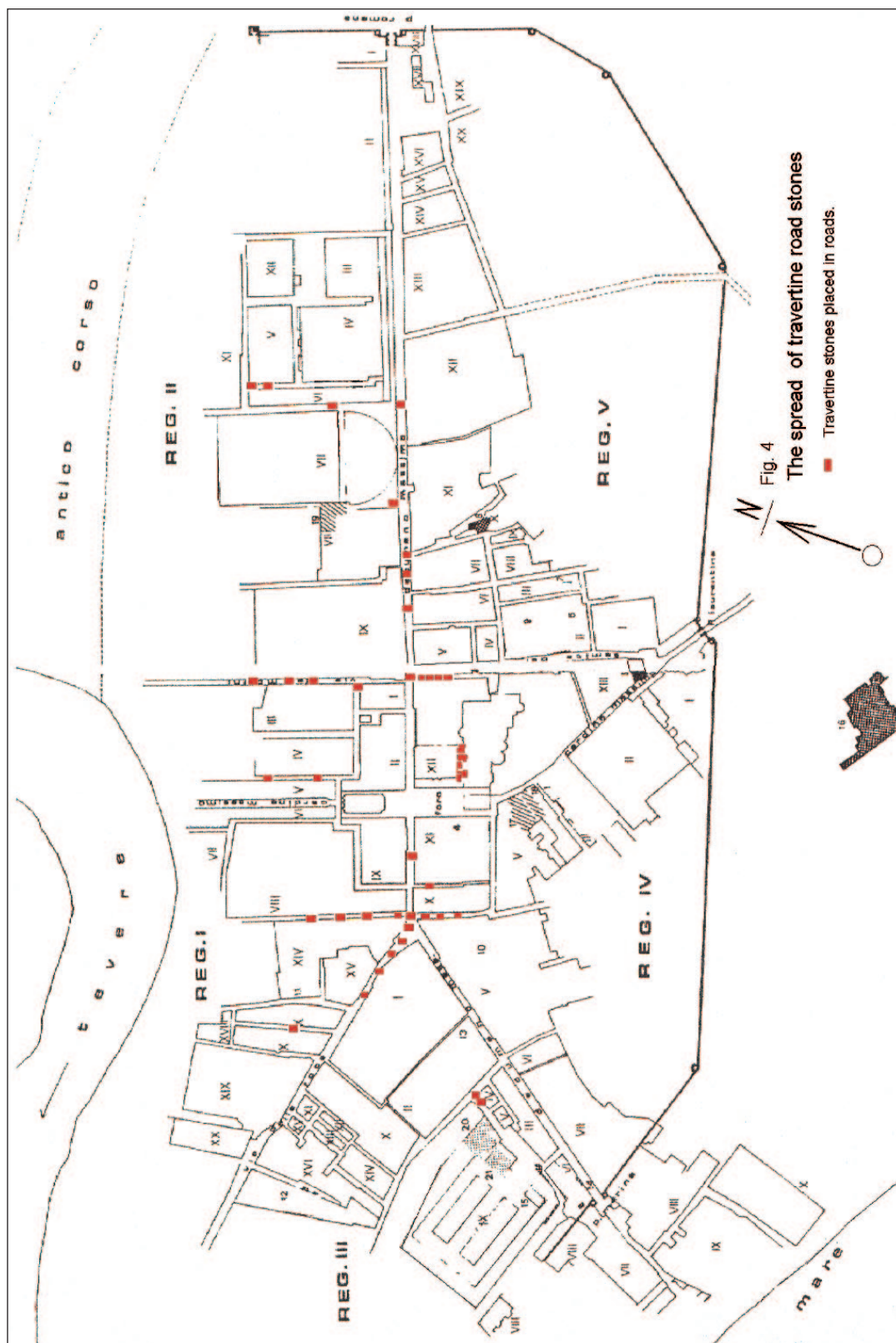


Fig. 5. Plan of distribution of streetslabs (from Pavolini 1986 with additions by B. Corver)

in the first half of the first century A.D. in front of a row of shops (I.x.2) along the eastern side of the *Via Pomeriale* facing the *Macellum*.¹⁹ A second portico along the eastern side of the southern *Cardo Maximus*, which was incorporated into the later Trajanic *horrea* may date to c. 50 A.D. (I. xiii.4).²⁰

The following architectural elements will be discussed separately: centralized streetslabs (cover stones), sidewalks, corner and pillar bases, thresholds with and without relief, stairs, corner and centralized bar stones, springers and corbels. Complete door-frames, especially those in the tombs of the *Isola Sacra* cemetery will be discussed more fully because of their interesting proportions.

4.1 Centralized streetslabs

Streets in Ostia, both from the Republican and Imperial periods, have been made of basalt stones. The streets of the higher, present day level date to the time of Domitian, about 100 A.D. In the middle of the streets about fifty rectangular travertine slabs, with an average size of about 83 x 42 cm, can be seen; usually two to four slabs lie side by side. Marble slabs can also be seen in isolated incidences or incorporated into the travertine paving. They may date to the third century or later when marble was cheaper. The largest concentration of marble slabs is in and near the city center, most frequently in the eastern part of the *Decumanus Maximus* (fig. 5). Because some slabs have openings and are lying above holes, it seems likely that they cover drain shafts. An isolated slab next to the Baths of Mithras (I.xvii.2) and a cluster of drains situated in the *Via della Forica* near the public toilet at the rear of the *Caseggiato dei Triclini* have a similar function. Some slabs are situated at a crossing and therefore have a strategic function in the drain control.

The following is a count of travertine streetslabs and their specific locations: *Decumanus Maximus*: 10, *Via degli Aurighi*: 1, *Via delle Corporazioni*: 2, *Via di Diana*: 1, *Via della Foce*: 5, *Via delle Volte Dipinte*: 1, *Via della Fontana*: 2, *Via dei Molini*: 5, *Via delle Terme del Mitra*: 1, *Via Epagathiana*: 5, *Via del Pomerio* 4, *Via dei Cippi* 5, of which 4 are side by side, and *Via della Forica*: 8 (in an irregular cluster). Therefore, streetslabs are most commonly found in and near the city center, and especially at crossings. While they are frequently found in the eastern part of the *Decumanus Maximus*, they are absent in the *Cardo Maximus*. Possibly the latter street had no drain. The lengths of the blocks vary from 41 to 118 cm and the widths from 11 to 87 cm. There are no fixed relations between lengths and widths. The ratio of their measures vary from 5:1 to almost 1:1. The measures have no relation to the Roman foot.

Because there is no trace of standardization, the cover stones must have been made *ad hoc*. Aside from the rectangular examples small round travertine stones have been used to repair broken basalt stones in the *Via del Tempio Rotondo*, *Via di Diana* and *Via dei Corporazioni*. In conclusion, rectangular travertine streetslabs were used because of their white color to cover and mark drain shafts. They could evidently support the weight of carts.

4.2 Sidewalks

Unfortunately sidewalks of travertine, complete or partial, have been preserved in a rather fragmentary state. If several materials have been used, the curb may be travertine, while the rest is tufa, brick, tiles or basalt. Sometimes sidewalks begin with travertine and end with basalt blocks and they may have a foundation of brick.

It is difficult to see whether they correspond to a building or part of a building as is often the case in Pompeii as Catherine Saliou has recently demonstrated.²¹ Sometimes this is the case (see hereafter, survey nrs. 9, 10c); but this is not necessarily true, especially when the sidewalk is longer or shorter than a parcel. If the sidewalks belong to a building they would have the following functions: a) the protection of building, b) ornamental, possibly related to status.

If they are part of the urban lay-out they would have the following functions:

- a) separation of pedestrians from mobile traffic, and
- b) restriction of the number of vehicles. Remains of sidewalks, that is to say raised paved areas alongside the facades of buildings, are visible in the following streets:
 1. *Decumanus Maximus*, along the *Caseggiato dei Triclini* (I.xii.1).
 2. Ibidem, near *Porta Marina*, along the *Domus del Ninfeo* (III.vi.2) and along the Inn of Alexander Helix (IV.vii.4).
 3. Ibidem, along the *Portico degli Archi Trionfali* (V.xi.7) and along the Theatre.
 4. *Via degli Aurighi*; by the corner of the *Via delle Volte Dipinte* (III.ix.23).
 5. *Via delle Corporazioni*, along the *Insula dell'Ercole bambino* and the *Insula del Soffitto dipinto* (II.vi.4; II.vi.6 (fig. 6) and the theater; originally this street probably had complete sidewalks on both sides. A series of high travertine blocks, possibly of a pavement, remains at the crossing with the *Via della Fullonica*.
 6. *Via di Diana* (I.ii.6).

¹⁹ SO I, 111.

²⁰ SO I, 125. Meiggs 1973, 45.

²¹ Saliou 1999, 161-218



Fig. 6. Sidewalk (II.vi.4)



Fig. 7 Via Epagathiana. Left side: bases and bar stones (I.xiv.8-7)

7. *Via delle Volte Dipinte* (III.ix.22).
8. *Via della Fortuna Annonaria* (II.vi.7).
9. *Via delle Terme del Mitra* (I.ii.17).
10. *Cardo Maximus* (IV.iii.1; V.i.1 and I.vi.1).
11. *Via dei Balconi* (I.iv.1).
12. *Via della Caupona* (IV.ii.2).
13. *Via del Tempio Rotondo* (I.xi.1 and IV.iv.7).

From this survey it becomes clear that most sidewalks occur in *Regio I*. The *Decumanus Maximus* has the largest number of curbs. This can be explained by the heavy traffic that used this thoroughfare. Because the streetlevel was heightened under Domitian, the *terminus post quem* for most sidewalks is c. 100 A.D. There are no traces of standardization. The width varies from 3.75 to 5.7 *pedes* and the height varies from 0.3 to 1.5 *pedes*. If only the curb is travertine, its width is about 1 *pes*, like the small stairs which sometimes interrupt the curb. The longest remaining travertine sidewalk measures c. 7.7 m.

4.3 Corner and pillar bases

Eight premises have bases at one or more corners of the facade of one or more buildings. Most examples are visible in *Regio I*, along large, busy streets and date to the period of the big building boom, the time of Hadrian. These bases may have had three functions. First, if there are two corner bases in line, they may have been intended to indicate the beginning and end of the facade of a building. Thus, they earmarked the front side of a parcel and its building(s). They tend to project at the front and slightly at the sides and sometimes at the rear. In this case, the second function may have been to protect the building against the damage of passing traffic. And finally they supported the corner walls. Since not every building from the Hadrianic period has corner bases, status may have also played a role. In some cases the corner bases flank a line of pillar bases in a *porticus*.

Survey.

1. The oldest corner base can be found on the left corner of building I.xiv.8 (near the *Terme di Buticoso*) on the western side of the *Via Epagathiana*. In line with it are pillar bases in front of I.xiv.8 without panels and I.xiv.7 with cut out panels (fig. 7). At the end of the *porticus*, there may have been a now lost second corner base to mark the parcel of two buildings. The pillar bases have vertical grooves, which may have been for drainage. The following five places show items from the Hadrianic period (ca. 120 A.D.).
2. Three items, which are in-line, are visible on the left corner of the rear side of the *Caseggiato del Termopolium* (I.ii.5), the right corner of the so-called

Basilica (I.ii.3) and the right corner of I.ii.1 (overbuilt by the *Ninfeo*), and all along the northern part of the *Decumanus Maximus* in the center.

3. Two items in-line are on the left and right corners of the *Caseggiato del Larario* (I.ix.3).²²

4. Two small items are in-line on the southern side of a building to the west of the *Domus di Amore e Psiche* (I.xiv.5).

5. Three items are in-line on the western side of the *Via della Foce* on left and right corners of III.xvi.6 and on the left corner of III.xvii.5. The latter two flank the opening of the *Via del Serapide*.

6. Probably from the Hadrianic period are two corner and two pillar bases in a lost building, V.xiii.1, along the southern side of the *Decumanus Maximus*.

7. Dating to the Antonine period are the corner bases on the ends of a curved *porticus* with pillar bases along the *Cardo Maximus*, on the northern corner of I.xii.7 (two blocks) and on the northern corner of I.xii.14 (three unequal blocks) and all along the south-western side of the *Terme del Foro*. The pillar bases have vertical grooves.

8. The corner bases in-line with the left (two blocks) and the right corner (three blocks) of the longer southern side of the *Tempio Collegiale* (I.x.4) date to the end of the Severan period.

The corner bases are 74 to 180 cm long, 63 to 146 cm wide, and 32 to 52 cm high. The pillar bases are 60 to 197 cm long, 56 to 181 cm wide, and 13 to 120 cm high. In both cases there are no fixed relations between the three measures, which may be due to differences in the level of terrain, the size of available blocks, and the building speed. There are no traces of standardization. Both types of bases have a liminal function in common. The distances between corner bases vary from 1420 to 6377 cm. The distances between pillar bases range from 300 to 700 cm, dependant on corridors and shops or other rooms.

The phenomenon of corner and pillar bases disappears after c. 220/230 A.D.

4.4 Thresholds without relief

Flat thresholds, without edges, grooves or pivot holes, can be found chiefly in *horrea*, guild buildings, and (larger) dwelling complexes. Flat thresholds did not support doors. They mark transitional places where people could move unhindered from one space to another. They are level with one or two floors. Travertine thresholds seldom appear in the same building with marble ones. It is evident that the architects chose between travertine and marble. Unprocessed

²² L. Socca, Nuovi elementi per l'interpretazione del Caseggiato del Larario a Ostia, *AC* 46 (1994) 421-440.

thresholds are often found with travertine thresholds which have reliefs. Flat thresholds are most frequently found in the Regions I, III and IV. Generally they can be dated to the second century A.D.

Flat thresholds are found in the following contexts:

1. the official main entrance of a main building;
 2. the entrance of a lane or corridor which divides two complexes;
 3. between two rooms indoors;
 4. on the border of a complex as delineation;
 5. the edge of a *porticus* on the border of a building and a street;
 6. the entrance of a vestibule giving access to a staircase leading to the first floor; or
 7. the entrance of a room without another entrance.
- The measures of flat thresholds were not standardized. Their measures depended mostly on that of the entrance. The flat threshold functioned liminally marking the entrance.²³

4.5 Thresholds with relief

Processed thresholds are the most common type. They all have a raised edge (4 to 10 cm thick) at the front and one or two pivot holes in the corners often directly behind the edge.

Sometimes there are raised edges on the smaller sides or the thresholds may be framed by raised travertine blocks. The most frequent type, which consists of several slabs, occurs in the facades of *tabernae* (shops, workshops, bars and so on). Usually, there is a round pivot hole on the right where the *cardo* of the door turned. Behind the raised edge is a groove into which the boards of a shutter could be pushed.²⁴ The groove ends where the space of the door begins. The slab, where the door could be turned, has a cut-away level. In this manner the boards could be inserted into the groove.²⁵ The boards were held together by a horizontal bar which was fixed into a bar-hole in the left wall of the entrance.²⁶

There are three other types of thresholds:

- 1) small thresholds with one pivot hole, usually only one door, occurring in small rooms without other doors like in bedrooms;
- 2) larger thresholds with two pivot holes, for two doors, have been used at main entrances of buildings and corridors;
- 3) the largest thresholds have two pivot holes and two square holes in the centre for vertical bars. This type occurs in buildings where safety was very important, for example in the main entrances of the *Caserma dei Vigili* (II.v.1) and the *Caseggiato del Larario* (I.ix.3).

Finally, *horrea* present another type of threshold. In the *Horrea of Hortensius* (V.xii.1; c. 40-50 A.D.) the entrances to the storerooms show blocks with a pivot hole on both sides. In the centre a connecting

piece of travertine is absent. Rickman and Meiggs presume that bricks, which are now missing, were used for the central part.²⁷ It seems more probable that the central space under the doors was left open for fresh air. In the *Grandi Horrea* (II.ix.7) the thresholds are solid, with a marginal check, two pivot holes, and one or two bar holes.²⁸ These thresholds, framed by raised side-blocks, may have been influenced by an older type.

An exceptional threshold occurs in the *Caseggiato dei Molini*, in the passage between rooms 7 and 19 (fig. 8). The side slabs have a pivot and bar hole, while the central part is basalt. This may have been done to withstand the exceptional pressure of donkeys, loads of grain, etc.²⁹

In general, there are no fixed standards for the length of thresholds. These depend on the width of the doorway. The width, however, may correspond with the thickness of a wall which is often two *pedes* (c. 60 cm).

4.6 Stairs

The oldest and most monumental stairs in Ostia are those on the front of the Hercules temple (c. 100 B.C.) mentioned above. The smallest stairs can be found in the curbs of the sidewalks, which were also mentioned above. The buildings of the second century A.D. have small external stairs corresponding with larger stairs which lead to the first floor. The small steps, varying in length from 60 to 130 cm, bridge the gap between the street and groundfloor-level. One of the latest external stairs can be found in front of the entrance of the *Domus of Amore e Psiche* (c. 325-350 A.D.). Inside this domus only small capital cushions are travertine, while marble dominates the floors and walls. As for the internal stairs in second century houses, some interesting features of standardization can be noted. The width or depth of most treads varies from 27 to 33 cm, while the measures of 28, 29 and 30 cm, about one Roman *pes*, are the most frequent. This is logical because the *pes* corresponds with the average length of a Roman foot. Most risers are between 17 and 23 cm high, with the highest measuring 30 cm and the peak being 20 cm. This

²³ Giseke Hopstaken will carry out further research on this type of threshold.

²⁴ For an older type from Augustus' time in Rome see Rickman 1971, 94-5, fig. 21.

²⁵ Cf. Rickman 1971, 60-61, fig. 16.

²⁶ Adam 1999, 320-321, figs. 730-731.

²⁷ Rickman 1971, 68. His statement that this 'example of the sparing use of travertine in the early Empire when it was employed only (sic!) at points of stress' is rather simplistic. The corner columns in the same *Horrea* for example have an esthetic function. The same holds good for travertine capitals on tufa columns. Meiggs 1973, 72.

²⁸ Rickman 1971, 48.

²⁹ Bakker (ed.) 1999, 150 (ad room 7, west).



Fig. 8. Cassegiato dei Molini: threshold (I.iii.1)



Fig. 9. Cassegiato dei Triclini (I.xii.1)



Fig. 10. Bath of Mithras, external staircase (I.xvii.2)



Fig. 11. Horrea Epagathiana, corner stones (I.viii.3)

measure is most convenient when a person is going up and down stairs. The length of the treads, on one staircase of the same length, are less standardized. They vary from 120 to 180 cm or from 4 to 6 Roman feet. Most examples vary from 140 to 160 cm, with an average of about 5 Roman feet. This can be explained by the need for two persons to be able to pass each other on the stairs. If the average width of a person was about 60 cm, then on average about 30 cm of space would be free. Usually the blocks of one or two pieces of travertine are resting on brick steps. In many cases only the lowest steps or those which would have been visible to the visitor are travertine, while the remaining steps are brick or even wood (*fig. 9*). If the steps are travertine, their number varies from 5 to 23. Usually the staircase rises at an angle of 43-47 degrees.³⁰ In the Baths of Mithras only the superior level of brick layers of the external and corresponding stairs carry slabs of travertine (*fig. 10*). Often times a small vestibule, marked by pivotoles in the threshold, could be

closed off by one or two doors which preceded the real staircase. If a second staircase rests on a higher level or on the first floor, a square landing connects the two staircases at a 45 or 90 degree angle. Below the staircases were toilets or rooms for storage, as in modern houses. Light and air was afforded by a small square hole in one of the steps. Large stairs can be found in the Theater, *Schola del Traiano*, some temples and other monumental buildings that saw a lot of human traffic. Here the length of the stairs varies from 400 to 1500 cm. Very small stairs can be found in subterranean spaces of baths.

4.7 Corner-stones

These small blocks, one or more above each other, often in a symmetrical scheme, are visible on the frontal corners of doorways (*fig. 11*) and piers or pillars of porticoes (*figs. 12 and 13*). Sometimes square

³⁰ Boersma 1985, 154.



Fig. 12. Via della Foce, western side: small corner stones (III.xvi.6)



Fig. 13. Ibidem, small corner stone (detail)

or round holes for the insertion of bars can be found on the inside of the doorway. The measures of the blocks are not standardized in any of the buildings. They occur most frequently in the *Caseggiato del Larario* and the *Horrea Epagathiana* where on average they are 26 to 27 cm long, 15 to 20 cm wide, and c. 14 cm high. But it is interesting to note that the vertical distance between the stones is c. one Roman foot or a multiple of it. The following table shows the presence of one or more blocks at the height of one or more Roman feet. Blocks may be on other levels too, at a level different 1/2, 1/3 to 2/3 foot from the indicated heights. If the lowest block is 20 cm, then the next block may be 20 cm + one or more feet high. Not all level-differences can be measured in feet; distances may be 50, 75, 100 and 125 cm.³¹

	30	60	90	120	150	180	210	240
Domus fulminata (III.vii.3)	x	x	x					
Domus del decumano (III.ii.3)	x	x	x					
Cas. Misuratori (I.vii.1)	x		x					
Cas. Larario (I.ix.3; fig. 16)	x			x			x	
Cas. balcone ligneo (I.ii.6)	x		x	x				
Casa a Giardino (II.ix.1)					x	x		
Casa di Annio (III.xiv.4)	x	x						
Cas. degli Aurighi (III.x.1)		x			x		x	
Cas. con portico (I.xii.7)					x		x	
Horrea Epagathiana (I.viii.3)		x			x			
Portico dell'Ercole (IV.ii.2)					x	x		
Portico Archi trionf. (V.xi.7)		x				x		

Most corner-stones do not have bar holes. Because of their irregular, non-standardized form, corner-stones are not needed to strengthen walls. Therefore, they were principally aesthetic and may have emphasized the status of buildings. They most frequently date to the period between c. 65 and 180 A.D.

4.8 Centralized bar stones

Centralized bar stones, dating between c.112 and 150 A.D., are visible in a limited number of buildings: *Portico* (I.xiv.8; fig. 7), *Portico del Piccolo Mercato* (I.viii.1), *Caseggiato dei Misuratori di Grano* (I.vii.1) and *Horrea Epagathiana* (I.viii.3). These buildings with commercial characters are all situated in *Regio I*. The bar stones occur on the insides of doorways or pillars, but never in a symmetrical scheme. The round central holes, often with rests of lead or iron, indicate that bars could be inserted into this type of stone. The horizontal bar must have been attached to a vertical one, because there is no corresponding bar stone on the opposite side. The levels of the bar stones are not standardized. They have been found at heights of c. 60, 75, 125, 175, 200 and 225 cm. Their average length is c. 21 cm and average height c. 15 cm.



Fig. 14. Springers, small corner stones, staircase (I.xii.4)

4.9 Springers

Horizontal springers or springstones are rare in Ostia. They occur in the *Caseggiato del Larario* (I.ix.3; c. 120 A.D.), in I.xii.4 (fig. 14) and in the entrances of the complex of the *Casa a Giardino* (III.ix; c. 128 A.D.; fig. 15). Their function may be twofold. First, their sloping sides support a lintel arch of bricks on the left and right. Second, many examples have a pivot hole in the left or right frontal corner corresponding exactly with the pivot hole in the threshold of the same doorway. The level and measures of springers are not standardized. In the *Casa del Larario* (fig. 16) they are c. 300 cm (ten feet) high and in the *Casa a Giardino* they are c. 258 cm high. The average measures are: 58 cm long, 57 cm wide, and c. 42 cm high. The width (c. 2 feet) corresponds with the width of the wall of the doorway. The oldest examples of horizontal springers can be found in the Forum of Caesar at Rome.

³¹ E.g. in *Regio III.xvi.6* (50 and 75 cm); in I.xx.1 (125 cm).



Fig. 15. Case a Giardino, entrance, springers (III.ix)

4.10 Corbels

Corbels occur in at least 13 buildings, mainly between c. 100 and c. 170 A.D.³² Corbels carried the wooden joists, which supported the planks making up the first floor. Usually they occur in houses, flats and apartment buildings. They are most frequent in the shops to the right of the *Horrea Epagathiana* (I.viii.3) and in the *Caseggiato del Larario* (I.ix.3; fig. 16). Their level is not fixed, but they are on the same level in the *Horrea Epagathiana* (288 cm high), the *Insula del Bacco* (I.iv.3) (295 cm high), and in *Casa del Bacco* (I.vi.2) (379 cm high). Only the ends of a corbel are visible because its central part is in the wall.³³ The extremities are c. 30 cm long, c. 22 wide, and c. 22 cm high. The distance between corbels was not fixed and varies from 105 to 285 cm. Within one room the distances are usually identical. Small corbels sustaining marble latrine benches (usually *spolia*) are visible in the *Forica* (IV, iv, 4; fig. 17).

4.11 General conclusions and observations

Travertine was used primarily to bear weight, but it also had liminal, marking, corner accentuating, pro-

tective, substituting, layout- and aesthetic and status-functions. Travertine was first used in Ostia at the end of the second century B.C. and was most popular in the second century A.D., the time of the biggest building activities. In patrician houses of the third and fourth centuries A.D., it occurs rarely: only in small external stairs, some internal stairs, entrance thresholds, small blocks flanking internal marble thresholds (fig. 18), small isolated blocks with a pivot hole (fig. 19), and capital cushions.³⁴ In these dwellings marble was lavishly used. The contemporaneous use of marble in bars and baths demonstrates that marble was far more available than in the first and second centuries A.D. Travertine building elements were used up until c. 500 A.D., but mainly as *spolia*. For example corbels were used as foundation stones, irregular blocks were used as

³² In *Regio* I: i.4; iii.3; iv.3; iv.4; vi.2; viii.3; ix.3. In *Regio* III: i.8; ix; xiv.4. In *Regio* IV: ii.2. In *Regio* V: iii.3.

³³ Some complete items can be seen in the Baths of Mithras and in IV.vii.1 (used as *spolia*) and in the southwestern part of the *Caseggiato del Larario*.

³⁴ Becatti 1949, 3, 8, 9, 11-12, 15, 20, 21, 23, 26, 29, 32-33, 35. See also P.F.B. Jongste, *Het gebruik van marmer in de Romeinse samenleving*. Diss. Leiden 1995.



Fig. 16. Caseggiato del Larario, springers, small corner stones and corbels (I.ix.3)

buffer stones on the corners of buildings. The oldest examples of travertine *spolia* are thresholds and a funerary slab³⁵ reused as foundation stones for the *Porta Romana* when it was rebuilt c. 100 A.D. (fig. 20). Generally, travertine has more than one function as the introduction and short survey of architectural elements has shown above. Before c. 200 A.D. elements like corner-stones may have been status sym-

bols; after c. 200 A.D. travertine lost its prestigious character, which is confirmed by Pensabene's research on capitals.³⁶ Not many standardized building elements have been found. We must conclude that much of it was made *ad hoc*. However the

³⁵ *CIL* XIV, suppl. I, 5228.

³⁶ Cf. Pensabene 1972, 186 (and *passim*).



Fig. 17. *Forica*, corbel (IV.iv.4)



Fig. 18. *Side blocks* (VII.8)

following analysis shows that more specifically in tombs some standardization was practiced.

5. TRAVERTINE DOORFRAMES IN THE CEMETERIES OF ISOLA SACRA AND OF PORTA LAURENTINA AND IN OSTIA³⁷

Introduction

Preserved complete or partial travertine doorframes in Ostia are very rare, hence so are specimens of travertine. Each entrance has its own peculiarities. Travertine doorframes are more numerous in the *Porta Laurentina* and *Isola Sacra* cemeteries. The first has six completely preserved doorframes (tomb 4, 13, 30, 32, 33, 46) dating from the end of the first century B.C. until c. 100 A.D. Many of the monumental tombs of *Isola Sacra* (c. 100-200 A.D.) have similar travertine doorframes.³⁸ This resemblance makes it worthwhile to investigate whether there is a system: is there any relation between measures, proportions and dating? Was there a preference for specific measures, even when there is no relation with dating? Further, did the type of tomb influence the measures of doorframes? For our research we studied c. forty completely intact monumental doorframes in *Isola Sacra*. Next it is interesting to compare the doorframes of both cemeteries. Together they comprise a period of the first century B.C. until c. 200 A.D.; the question is whether they had the same architectural tradition or whether both cemeteries have to be considered separately. Because of the number of doorframes we deal first with the *Isola Sacra* necropolis hoping to discover a system. Then the question rises whether the doorframes of the *Porta Laurentina* necropolis can be related to it.

Finally, we pay attention to the few, heterogeneous doorframes in Ostia.

5. 1. *The necropolis of Isola Sacra*

5. 1.1 *General observations*

The necropolis of *Isola Sacra* lies along the *Via Flavia*, a road connecting *Portus* with Ostia. The date of this road (c. 70 A.D.) gives a *terminus post quem* for the tombs, which apart from some exceptions are turned with their entrance towards the road.³⁹ The position of the necropolis is completely in accordance with the Roman custom to situate cemeteries along or next to a road away from the city.⁴⁰ There are no monumental tombs in isolated position but rows of tombs, separated by paths and open spaces, give the impression of a city, a city of the dead (fig. 21). The buried were members of the middle class: artisans, shopkeepers, merchants, predominantly *liberti* and descendants of *liberti*. Not a single tomb belonged to members of the upper-class. There is, however, a 'campus of the poor', situated behind the second row of tombs in the northern zone of the necropolis, originally with urns, amphoras, *fossae* in which the unprotected body was buried, wooden chests, terracotta sarcophagi, and *tombe alla cappuccina*.⁴¹ Most of these objects are no longer in situ. There are some non-monumental and semi-cylindrical tombs dispersed over the terrain. The necropolis underwent an enormous development in the second and in the first half of the third

³⁷ Studied and written by Natalie Stevens.

³⁸ Doorframes of much smaller size, which are present in non-monumental tombs, have been left out of consideration.

³⁹ Baldassare 1996, 17. For a map see Pavolini 1983, 260-261.

⁴⁰ Meiggs 1973, 455.

⁴¹ Baldassare 1996, 23.



Fig. 19. Isolated block with pivot hole (III.ix.12)



Fig. 20. Porta Romana, substructure of spolia



Fig. 21. *Isola Sacra* (tombs 80-77)

century A.D. The first rows of tombs were built directly along the *Via Flavia* (c. 70-100 A.D.). In the second phase (Trajanic period) new groups of tombs were placed behind the first rows. In the third and fourth phase (Hadrianic-Antonine period, respectively third century A.D.) tombs were built again along the *Via Flavia*, either using or superimposing on the older rows. Burials ceased at the second half of the third century A.D.⁴²

Until the Hadrianic period cremation was the burial rite, thereafter inhumation. During some time both rites occurred simultaneously. In the Trajan and Hadrianic periods the *columbarium* was the predominant type of family tomb. With the introduction of inhumation, *columbaria* were adapted by adding special niches, *arcosoli*. In a later phase tombs were built exclusively for inhumation.⁴³

The *columbarium* type, to which all our complete travertine doorframes belong, can be subdivided in a) tombs with *cella* (29.3 %); b) tombs with *cella* and with *klinai* at the outside (14.6 %); c) tombs with *cella* and enclosure (36.6 %); d) tombs with a combination of b and c (14.6 %) (fig. 22); e) tombs with an upper floor (4.9 %) (fig. 23).⁴⁴

5.1.2 Travertine doorframes

The c. 40 selected doorframes mainly date from the Trajan and Hadrian-Antonine periods.⁴⁵ The tombs situated directly alongside the *Via Flavia* dating back to the third century A.D. have fragmentary doorframes. They are not included in our studies, neither are the non-accessible tombs to the east of the *Via Flavia*.

Generally, the selected doorframes consist of the following elements (fig. 24): a) two doorposts, flat at the outside, with an average width of c. 23 cm, a depth of c. 45 cm, and a height of c. 147 cm;⁴⁶ the left doorpost (seen from the outside)⁴⁷ has a barhole at a height of c. 60-100 cm; the space between the two doorposts measures 60-90 cm; b) a threshold of

⁴² Baldassare 1996, 17-18.

⁴³ Meiggs 1973, 464-465.

⁴⁴ Calza 1940, 63. Category d is our addition.

⁴⁵ The selection consists of doorposts in tomb nrs. 10-11, 13-21, 25, 29-31, 42, 54-55, 72, 75-80, 85-87, 89, 92-95, 97.

⁴⁶ The dimensions mentioned are only the most frequent measures.

⁴⁷ Left and right mean: as seen by the onlooker standing in front of the tomb.



Fig. 22. Isola Sacra, tomb 87



Fig. 23. Isola Sacra, tomb 41 (below) and 42 (above)



Fig. 24. Isola Sacra, tomb 11

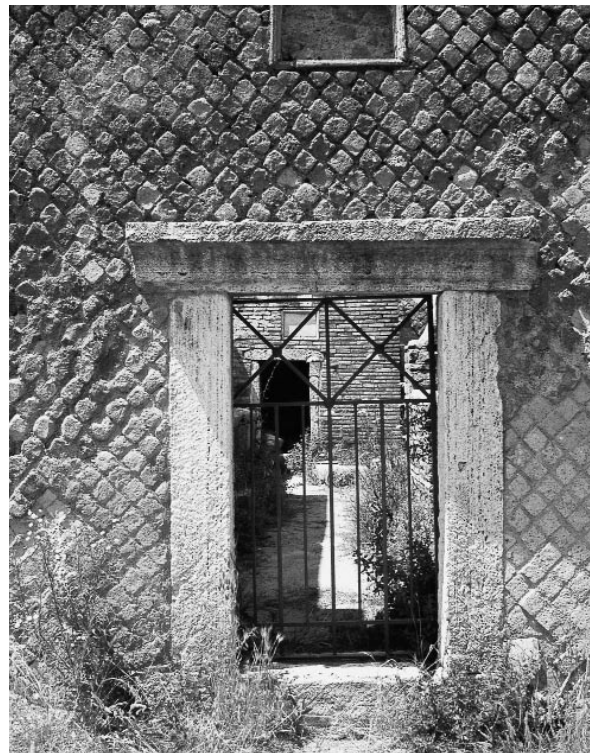


Fig. 25. Isola Sacra, tomb 89



Fig. 26. Ostia, Laurentine cemetery, tomb 32

one block of very varying length, with an u-formed raised edge and a pivot hole in the right frontal corner; and c) a lintel, which, with some exceptions, has the form of a corbel (as frequently used in Ostia city). In the right frontal corner is a second pivot hole, corresponding to the first one in the threshold. The doorposts and the lintel are usually framed by a one-brick layer. Often there is a marble slab with a funerary inscription framed by terracotta, sometimes flanked by two slit-windows above the door-frame.

5.1.2.1 Doorposts

There is no obvious relation between the measures of the doorposts and the date of the relevant tomb. The smallest width measured is 14 cm, the largest 33 cm. During the manufacturing of doorposts the Roman *pes* (ca. 29.77 cm) has been used, but not in a perfect way.⁴⁸ Within slight margins each measure can be converted to Roman measures.⁴⁹ Of all our selected doorframes 58.2 % has a width of c. 0.75 *pes*, 24.1 % of c. 0.5 *pes* and 17.7 % of c. 1.0 *pes*. Throughout all periods the most frequently chosen width is c. 1.5 *pedes*, that is in 62.5 % of all doorposts. The percentage of widths of 1.75 *pedes* is

17.25 %. The most frequent height of doorposts is between 4.5 and 5 *pedes*, 28.6 % measuring 4.75 *pedes* and 32.5 % 5 *pedes*.

As for the raised edges, throughout all periods there seems to have been a preference for a height of 5 cm (41 %; against 24 % of 6 cm and 23 % of 4 cm). The first measure which does have a relation to the date, is the width of the edge. When one compares the percentages of the various widths occurring in the first half of the second century A.D. to the percentages in the second half of the second century A.D., it can be concluded that the edges become more slender in the later period. Until 150 A.D. a width of 15 cm prevails (28.8 % of all doorpost until 150 A.D. against 7.7 % after 150 A.D.), after 150 A.D. edges of 13 cm. prevail (30.8 % of all doorposts after 150 A.D. against 15.4 % until 150 A.D.), of 11 cm (26.9 % against 9.7 % until 150 A.D.) and of 12 cm (23.1 % against 5.8 % until 150 A.D.).

⁴⁸ There is still some uncertainty about the length of the Roman *pes*. Calculations vary from 29.34 cm (R. de Zwarte, in: *BABesch* 69 (1994) 129, 142) to 30 cm (Heres 1982, 25). See also J.-P. Adam 1989, 41 (29.57 cm). We prefer 29.77 cm (cf. J. de Waele, in: *BABesch* 59/1 (1984) 1-5).

⁴⁹ We have taken into account quarter and half *pedes*.

The measures and the height of the barholes, holes in the left doorpost, making part of the locking system, are neither bound to a period nor are they standardized. The barholes have a more or less square form. There is a preference for a width and height of 7 cm, though 6, 8 and 9 cm also occur frequently. The smallest one measures 4 x 4 cm, the largest 8 x 30 cm. The height, measured from the threshold, strongly varies: the lowest point is 56 cm, the highest 121 cm. There is preference for a height between 75 and 79 cm. Of the 41 barholes 11 (26.8 %) belong to the latter category. To the adjacent categories of 70-74 cm and 80-84 cm belong 17.1 % respectively 12.2 % (7 respectively 5 barholes); 14.6 % (6 barholes) are at the height of 90-94 cm.

5.1.2.2 Lintel

As for the lintel, just as in the case of doorposts, no relation can be discovered between measures and date. The most frequent width is 5 *pedes*: 34.2 %. Also 5.25 (21 %) and 4.75 *pedes* (13.2 %) occur. The favourite depth throughout the periods is – just as the depth of doorposts – 1.5 *pedes*, that is 64 %, while half of this depth is the most frequent height: 59 % of the lintels is 0.75 *pes* high.

As for its form the raised edge corresponds with the edge of the threshold (see below) and as measures correspond with the edge of the doorposts. The widths are between 11 and 19 cm; widths of 13, 14, 15 and 16 cm prevail. The height of the edge is in most cases 5-6 cm. The corbel-like relief protrudes between 10 and 24 cm: measures between 16 and 17 cm occur most frequently. The narrow edge at the front of the corbel-like architrave varies in height from 4 to 15 cm. Maybe the edge becomes more slender during the second half of the second century A.D., though there are too few data to be certain. The pivot hole in the right corner, corresponding with that in the threshold, in which the pivot of the door turned, has a diameter of 8-9 cm.

5.1.2.3 Threshold

The threshold with u-formed edge and a pivot hole of 7-9 cm in diameter has a width between 3.5 and 9.75 *pedes*. Again there is no relation between width and date. 61.9 % of the measured thresholds has a width of 4.75-5.25 *pedes*. Thresholds with a width of 5.75-7.5 *pedes* are missing completely. As for the depth 1.5 and 1.75 *pedes* (45.5 respectively 27.3 %) have been preferred throughout all periods; the most frequent heights are 0.5 *pes* (44.8 %) and 0.75 *pes* (41.4 %). The u-shaped edge has a height of 3-7 cm, while 4-6 cm are the most frequently occurring measures. Until 150 A.D. 6 cm was preferred, after 150 A.D. 4 cm. The width of the edge varies from 8-18 cm, with a preference for 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15 cm. In the

case of 15 cm 6 of the 7 edges date from before 150 A.D.

5.1.2.4 Ratios

The relation between the width of the doorframe and the width of the facade of the tomb is not fixed. It varies from 1:2.9 to 1:4.1. It is not possible to draw conclusions about a development throughout the periods. In many doorframes the left and right doorpost do not have the same width. In 30 % of the doorframes the width is identical. The right doorjamb is longer in 21.5 % and shorter in 48.5 %. It is worthwhile to examine how the horizontal elements – threshold and lintel – are related to each other. The percentage of doorframes having a lintel with the same length as the threshold is 16.7; 30 % of the lintels is longer and 53.3 % shorter than the threshold. Although the data are few, it seems that a longer lintel was more in vogue in the first half of the second century A.D. (89 % against 11 % in the second half of the the second century A.D.). The width of the doorway varies from 1.75 to 3.5 *pedes*. Most frequently occur the categories 2.5-2.75 (41 %), 2.25-2.5 (28 %) and 2.0-2.5 (15 %). A development throughout the periods cannot be discovered. The width of the doorframe, the width of the doorposts included, measures between 3.25 and 4.75 *pedes*. The studied items are regularly divided over all interlying quarter *pedes*, with the exception of 4.0-4.25 and 4.5-4.75 *pedes* which were preferred in the second (31 % against 8 %) respectively the first half of the second century A.D. (20 % against 0 %). An important reason why doorframes differ, is the fact that lintel and threshold sometimes are wider and sometimes not wider than the width of the doorframe. Both types of horizontal elements show gradations: they protrude 1) not, 2) a little bit, 3) rather much, and 4) much. Horizontal elements both protruding over or under the the vertical ones were preferred.

5.1.2.5 Preferred measures

From the foregoing it can be deduced that the most frequent measures are the following:

*doorpost:	width:	0.75	<i>pes</i>
	depth:	1.5	<i>pedes</i>
	height:	5.0	<i>pedes</i>
*threshold:	width:	5.0-5.25	<i>pedes</i>
	depth:	1.5	<i>pedes</i>
	height:	0.75	<i>pes</i>
*lintel:	width:	5.0	<i>pedes</i>
	depth:	1.5	<i>pedes</i>
	height:	0.75	<i>pes</i>

We may conclude that the same preferred measures have been used for all elements. Thus the question



Fig. 27. Ostia, Laurentine cemetery, tomb 4



Fig. 28. Ostia, Domus delle Gorgoni, doorframe (I.xiii.6)

risks whether there are doorframes in *Isola Sacra* which have been built to the standard of the measures mentioned and whether these standard doorframes can be connected with a tomb type. Within our selection three doorframes completely correspond to the preferred measures, namely tomb 20, 21 and the enclosure door of tomb 89 (fig. 25). One doorframe (tomb 13) is responding within a few centimetres. It is astonishing that tomb 20-21 and tomb 89 date from 160-170 A.D. and tomb 13 from 150-160 A.D.⁵⁰ The number of standard doorframes is too low to draw hard conclusions. Tomb 13, 20 and 21 belong to the *columbarium* type a, tomb 89 to type c. The type of tomb has not influenced the measures of the doorframe. Probably the standard measures $0.75 \times 1.5 \times 5.0$ (- 5.25) *pedes* were used during the whole period of the second until the beginning of the third century A.D. with slight variations. The placing of prefabricated elements varied per tomb; this gave each facade its own appearance.

5.2. The necropolis of Porta Laurentina

5.2.1 General observations

The necropolis is situated along the *Via Laurentina*, which runs from *Porta Laurentina* in Ostia to the southeast. A number of tombs lies along a sidepath and round a square to the east of the *Via Laurentina*. From c. 50 B.C. to c. 100 A.D., just as in the *Isola Sacra* necropolis, mainly small merchants and artisans, for the most part *liberti* and some free born, found their last resting place.

5.2.2 Travertine doorframes

Because of the low number of measure data it is not useful to give percentages like we did for *Isola Sacra*. We limit ourselves to a comparison between the doorframes of both cemeteries. The tomb entrances in the *Porta Laurentina* cemetery are less

⁵⁰ The dates are proposed by Baldassare 1996.



Fig. 29. Ostia, Tempio dei Fabri navales (III.ii.2)

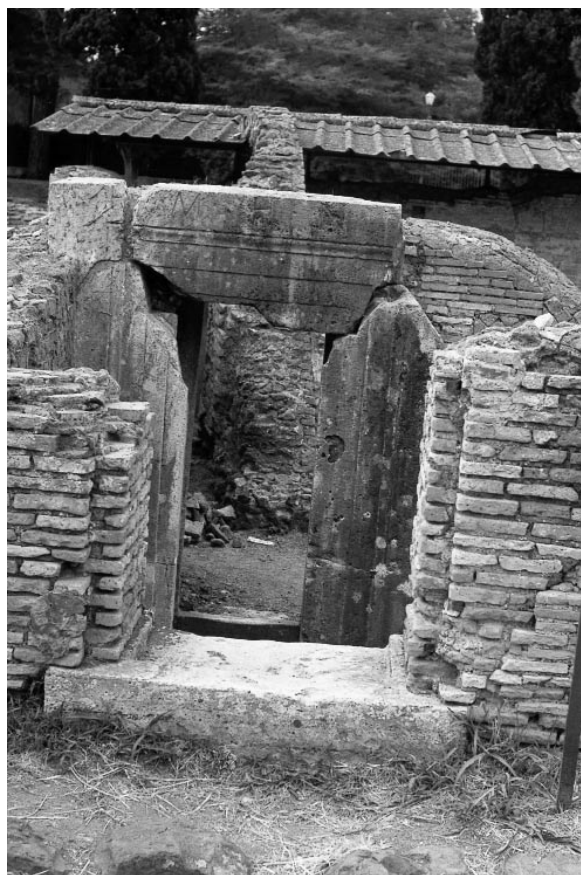


Fig. 30. Cemetery outside Porta Romana, tomb 17

impressive (fig. 26). No doorposts are higher than 4.75 *pedes*; the measures 3.75 and 4.25 *pedes* seem to have prevailed. In *Isola Sacra* the standard height is larger (5.0 *pedes*). The widths of threshold and lintel, in *Isola Sacra* likewise 5.0 *pedes*, are in some cases 2.75 or 3.5 *pedes*. These measures are shorter than the shortest length measured in *Isola Sacra*. The corbel-like lintel which is characteristic for *Isola Sacra*, occurs only in tomb 4 (50-30 B.C.)⁵¹ (fig. 27) and tomb 30. The frame of brickstones does not occur. All the same, the type of doorframe strongly resembles the type in *Isola Sacra*: the horizontal elements (threshold and lintel) protrude in most cases and the construction of the doorframes shows great similarities (cf. fig. 27). Most of the pivot holes are situated at the right side; the barholes are visible in the left doorpost. Because of the many congruences we conclude that there must have been a direct relation between the doorframes in both cemeteries. The doorframes in the *Porta Laurentina* necropolis should be considered as predecessors of those in the *Isola Sacra* necropolis.

5.3. Ostia

During our research in Ostia we found two complete doorframes, one monumental porch and some fragmentary doorframes, with which we shall deal briefly. Somewhat similar with the types in the *Isola Sacra* and *Porta Laurentina* cemeteries – flat doorposts and an u-formed threshold – are 1) a fragmentary doorframe belonging to the *Domus delle Gorgoni* (I.xiii.6) which may date from the end of the third century A.D.;⁵² 2) a doorframe without the lintel in the *Caseggiato dei Triclini* (I.xii.1) from c. 120 A.D.;⁵³ 3) the fragmentary entrance of a *taberna* (V.ii.6), probably from the Severan period.⁵⁴ Ad 1) The measures of the doorposts (width: 1 *pes*; depth: 1.75 *pedes*) and of the threshold width: 5.25 *pedes*; depth: 1.75 *pedes*) only slightly deviate from the average measures in *Isola Sacra*. Indeed, the

⁵¹ Pavolini 1983, 238.

⁵² Ibidem, 203.

⁵³ Ibidem, 108-109.

⁵⁴ Ibidem, 208.

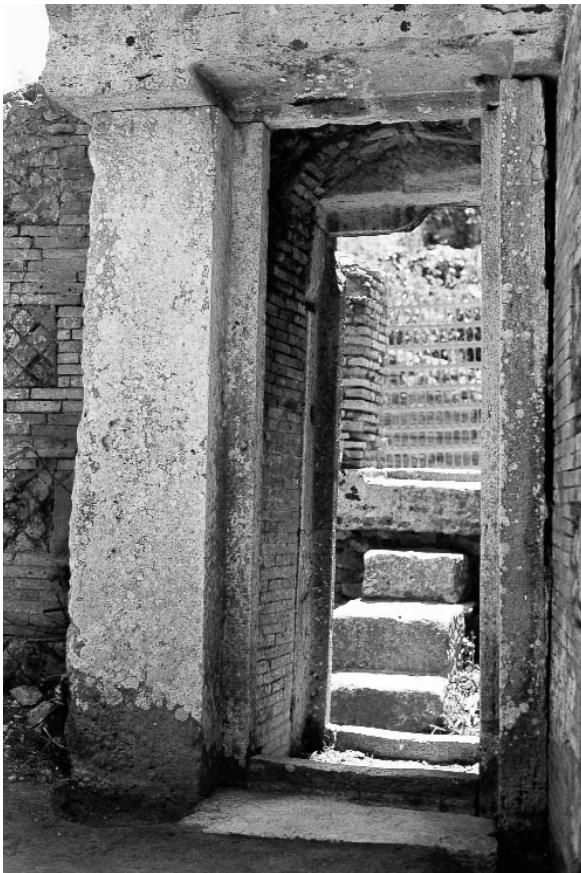


Fig. 31. *Ibidem*, tomb 17, interior doorframe

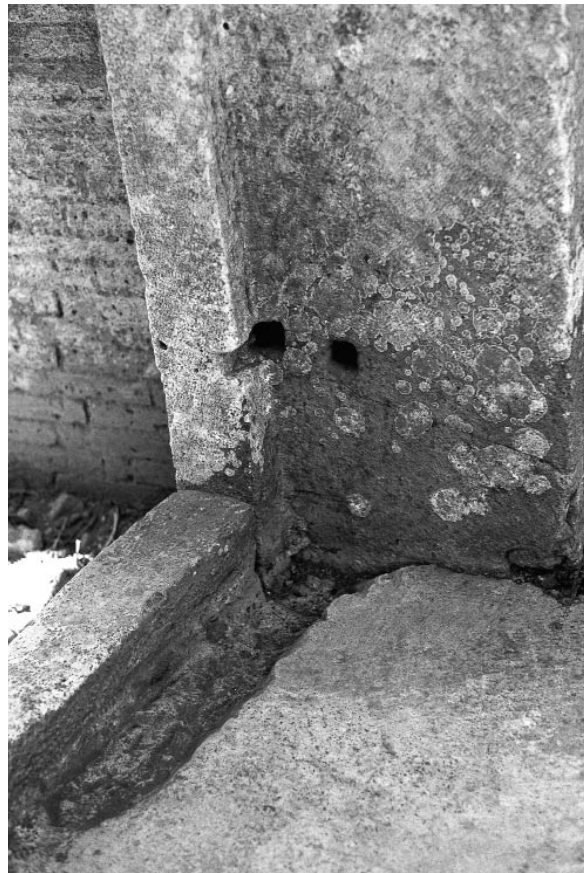


Fig. 32. *Ibidem*, tomb 17, interior doorframe (detail)

width of the doorframe is larger (6 pedes) and the threshold has a pivot hole both in the left and the right corner but these differences may be ascribed to different functions. It is remarkable that the threshold is shorter than the width of the doorframe, a phenomenon which does not occur in the cemeteries mentioned. Also the setting of the doorposts on the threshold is peculiar; in the frontal part of the threshold savings have been cut to contain the door-jambs for half (fig. 28).

Ad 2) The doorframe in the *Caseggiato dei Triclini* deviates from those in *Isola Sacra* insofar it has a construction of doorposts in two parts (fig. 9). The proper doorpost stands on a low sideblock with the same width (1.5 pedes high). Such side-blocks, albeit without doorposts, are present in the *Forica* behind the *Caseggiato dei Triclini* (3 respectively 2.5 pedes high), in the *Domus della Fortuna Annonaria* (V.ii.8) and in the *Insula di Giove e Ganimede* (I.iv.2). It is not certain whether these sideblocks really belonged to a doorframe, since the adjacent walls do not show traces of doorposts

which would have been placed against them.

Ad 3) The entrance of the *taberna* has a much broader opening (7.5 pedes), which is not surprising in view of its function. Here too sideblocks (2 pedes) are present. The width of the remaining doorpost is larger than the average doorpost in *Isola Sacra* or *Porta Laurentina*. The doorpost, however, has a shorter depth than the sideblock upon which it is resting.

A very curious doorframe is present in the *Tempio dei Fabri navales* (III.ii.2) from 180-190 A.D., consisting of a threshold and lintel, somewhat comparable to those in *Isola Sacra*. Only on places where barholes had to be made, blocks of travertine have been inserted into the *latericium*-wall (fig. 29).

Of a completely different type is the monumental entrance to tomb 17 in the necropolis along the *Via Ostiense*, which probably dates from the second century A.D.⁵⁵ The gate consists of two doorframes: one exterior and one interior. The external doorframe

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, 42. For a map of the cemetery see Pavolini 1983, 38.



Fig. 33. Ostia, *Horrea Epagathiana*, doorframe (I.viii.3)

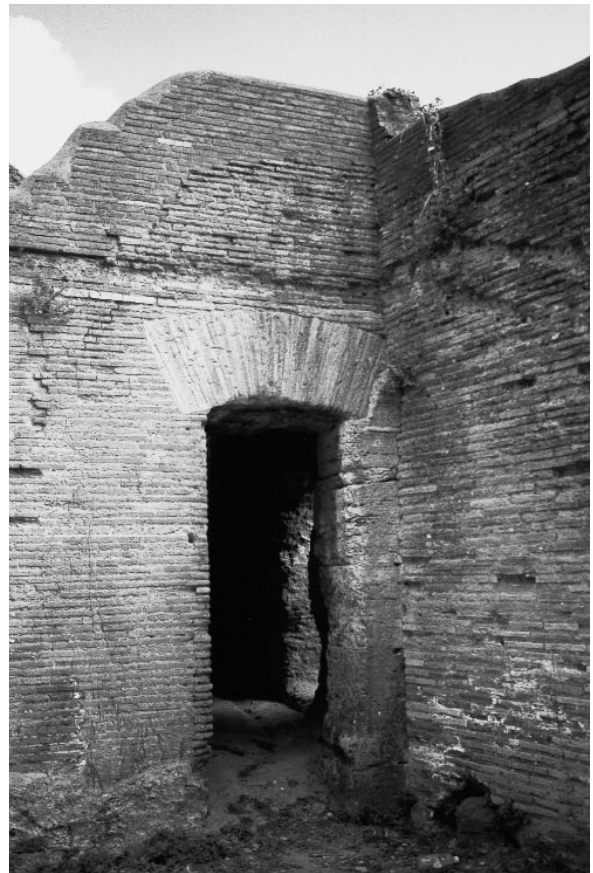


Fig. 34. Ostia, *Terme del Foro* (I.xii.7); travertine doorpost

is decorated with continuing reliefbands, in which the relief rises towards the outer edges (fig. 30). Parallels for this type can be found in the marble doorframes of the *Terme di Buticoso* (I.xiv.8)(122 A.D.) and of the Sanctuary of Attis (IV.i.3)(c. 200 A.D.) in the *Campus Magnae Matris*, and in the fragmentary doorframe in the *Tempio dell' Ara Rotondo* (I.xv.6). The marble items, however, do not show reliefbands rising in outward direction.⁵⁶ On the lintel of tomb 17 is an inscription: *H(oc) M(onumentum) H(eredes) N(on) [S(equetur)]*. Unlike the doorframes in *Isola Sacra* the doorposts are placed more against than into the wall. The raised edge of the threshold connects both doorposts. The walls of the small vestibule are built in *opus latericium*. The ceiling is vaulted. The interior doorframe is undecorated. Its main face is turned to the inside of the tomb (fig. 31). The lintel is a massive block of travertine with an u-like edge which protrudes. The pivot hole is – contrary to those in *Isola Sacra* – in the left corner, corresponding with a groove which deepens

toward the wall (fig. 32). This groove served to insert the door by which the deepest part functioned as a kind of pivot hole.

We end with two unique doorframes: the interior monumental entrance of the *Horrea Epagathiana* (I.viii.3) (140-150 A.D.)⁵⁷ and the entrance to a corridor with a dead end at the east side of the *Terme del Foro* (I.xiii.7). The entrance in the *Horrea Epagathiana* (fig. 33) is the only doorframe which can be called monumental: it is two times bigger than the monumental doorframes in *Isola Sacra*. The doorposts consist each of two relatively slender elements. The threshold likewise consists of more than one block. The lintel is in fact a lintel arch with cuneiform blocks. The second entrance mentioned has

⁵⁶ The reliefbands of the external (fragmentary) doorframes in the *Terme del Mitra* rise in outward direction. Probably they are not made of travertine; the material seems to be concrete with rests of shells. These items have been left out of consideration.

⁵⁷ Rickman 1971, 33, fig. 4.

only a doorpost of travertine at the right (fig. 34). This doorpost is incorporated in the east wall of the *Terme*, consisting of five blocks with a height of 1-2.25 *pedes*, a width of 1.25 *pedes* and a depth of 2.25 *pedes*. A superior block is decorated with a *patera umbilicata*. The doorpost may be reused material or an element of a (sacral?) building anterior to the *Terme*. The left (lost) doorpost has been replaced by a *latericium* wall; the lintel consists of an arch of *bipediales* and the threshold is missing completely. The dooropening enlarges in upward direction: the smallest width is 2.75 *pedes*, the largest 3 *pedes*. To resume: it may be concluded that the similarities between the doorframes in *Isola Sacra* and *Porta Laurentina* cemeteries and those in Ostia are too few to assume an identical workshop or tradition. Possible similarities in measures can be explained by the use of Roman *pedes*. Similar elements as u-shaped thresholds, pivot holes or flat doorposts are too general to assume a direct relation.

5.4 Conclusion

Apart from some exceptions there is no relation between measures, proportions and dates of the travertine doorframes in the necropolis *Isola Sacra*. Furthermore the type of tomb does not seem to have influenced the measures and proportions. Preferred measures, however, have been used which are identical for each of the three elements: 0.75 x 1.5 x 5.0 (-5.25) *pedes*, though deviations from the standard measures occur. By varying in the placing of prefabricated elements doorframes of each tomb got an individual proportion. The doorframes in the necropolis of *Porta Laurentina* belong to the same architectural tradition as those of *Isola Sacra* in spite of evident differences. In contrast the doorframes in Ostia city itself, which are multiform, do not resemble the doorframes in the two cemeteries mentioned.

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Reviews

W.G. CAVANAGH and M. CURTIS (editors), J.N. COLDSTREAM and A.W. JOHNSTON (co-editors), *Post-Minoan Crete: Proceedings of the First Colloquium on Post-Minoan Crete held by the British School at Athens and the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, 10-11 November 1995, BSA Studies Series No. 2*. London, 1998; ISBN 0-904887-29-4.

For those familiar with the history of archaeological research in Crete, it is well-known that scholarly attention was focused predominantly on the Minoan palace civilisation of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. With the first large-scale excavations on the island, by Arthur Evans and others in the years from 1900 onwards, the importance and splendour of these periods quickly became apparent. The Minoan palaces, while clearly indebted to the older civilisations of Egypt and the Near East, in their turn exerted a marked cultural influence on contemporary societies in the Aegean, including the Mycenaean Mainland. This, and the sheer abundance of Minoan monuments, contributed to the neglect of remains from both earlier and later periods.

In recent decades, a more general growth of interest in the so-called Dark Ages (the period after the disintegration of the Bronze Age palace systems and prior to the development of the historical poleis) has also made itself felt in Crete. This transitional period formed by the end of the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age is now considered an object of research in its own right. New fieldwork projects have been initiated on the island which explicitly focus on this era and on the associated changes in settlement pattern and material culture. Scholars, following the ancient historians, have long acknowledged that Crete's development in these later periods was 'different' from that of other regions in the Greek world, partially because of the presumed strength of its Bronze Age or Minoan traditions. Issues of continuity and change are nowadays newly explored. In addition, there is a revived interest in the scale and impact of contact with the Near East in the centuries after the disappearance of the Bronze Age palaces. In this scholarly context, the organisation and publication of a colloquium dedicated exclusively to the archaeology and history of Crete after the Bronze Age forms a welcome initiative.

The present volume contains sixteen contributions to the 'First Post-Minoan colloquium', organised in 1995 by the British School at Athens and the University College in London. Most papers are well-written, abundantly illustrated and make for interesting reading. Attention is here paid to the Early Iron Age, as well as to the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods, with a good balance between presentation of fieldwork and more thematic and historical discussions.

The principal focus of a number of papers is on the presentation of excavation data and finds, either from old or

from new projects (for instance papers by Coulson and Mook on the habitation history and the architecture of EIA Kavousi, Moignard on Orientalising pottery from the Knossos North Cemetery and Paton on the Roman Villa Dionysos at the same site). Other authors try to place the results of their fieldwork or their studies of excavation material more explicitly in the context of such broader research question as outlined above. D'Agata's contribution, for instance, discusses the previously excavated votive material from the Piazzalle dei Sacelli at Ayia Triada with reference to the question of continuity and change in cult practices from the Minoan into the historical period. Results from the current survey project at Praisos are used by Whitley to address questions of ethnicity in the far East of Crete, the region which is traditionally the homeland of the Eteocretans. Coldstream gives a synthesis of his inspiring work on the revival of interest in the Minoan past among the inhabitants of EIA Knossos, as apparent in the tomb material from the North Cemetery. The important issue of polis formation is treated by Cucuzza in relation to the Geometric settlement at Phaistos, thereby providing a useful synthesis of the results of decennia of Italian excavations at that site. Even in the paper by Turner, who presents a single find from the recent excavations at Kavousi – a small but unique lead pendant – an attempt is made to place the significance of this find in the wider perspective of foreign contacts and influences in Crete during the Orientalizing period. In addition, there is a valuable paper by Moody *et al.* on the methodological aspects of urban surveys at sites of the historical and later periods.

Less site-specific contributions are, with the exception of Watrous' paper on the relations between Crete and Egypt in the 7th century B.C., concentrated in the second half of the book which contains papers on the Classical through Roman period. With Crete's gradual incorporation in the wider Hellenistic and Roman worlds, subjects tend to become more regional and historical in scope. There are papers on the relations between Kytaion and Axos on the island itself (Stefanakis), on Cretan-Spartan relations (Karafotias) and on Crete's economic and political position just before and after the Roman conquest (de Souza, Metenidis and Harrison).

In the light of this variety of subjects and the clear significance of the organisation of a Post-Minoan colloquium, it seems something of a missed opportunity that the proceedings are not provided with a more extensive introduction. In this, some of the history of earlier research in the island and a brief reflection on the difference between older and current research themes might have been outlined. The title of the book implies that more Post-Minoan colloquia will follow. Perhaps the opportunity will then be taken to provide more background information to those not familiar with Post-Minoan Crete so as to better appreciate the importance of current research. Alternatively, a second conference could be organised thematically, giving different scholars a chance to discuss more thoroughly the broader issues

involved in contemporary fieldwork and research in Crete.

Mieke Prent

Y.A. PIKOULAS, *Road-network and Defence. From Corinth to Argos and Arkadia*. Athens: Horos 1995 (in Greek, with English summary), pp. xvi+450, 87 maps, 12 plans, 128 plates. ISBN 960 85691 0 9.

Over the years Yannis Pikoulas has made substantial contributions to our understanding of the ancient roads and topography of parts of the Peloponnese. His method has been a combination of meticulous scrutiny of the ancient textual sources combined with fieldwork, the latter beginning in village coffeehouses and continuing in the field, if possible with the help of local guides; see particularly his *The Southern Megalopolis Area from the Eighth Century B.C. to the Fourth Century A.D.* (Athens: Horos 1988; in Greek with English summary).

In the present volume this approach is applied to roads capable of taking wheeled traffic and to tower-like roadside buildings in the region through which ran the routes from Corinth to the Argolid and from there to Arkadia. The physical evidence for such roads and buildings is described in a detailed catalogue, wherever possible accompanied by ancient literary references and modern bibliography. The evidence for carriageable roads consists primarily of wheelruts deliberately cut in the bedrock in order to accommodate the vehicles' wheels. Such artificial wheelruts, which testify to a standard wheeltrack of 1.40 m., are also known from other parts of Greece and some of the islands. They are generally thought to be a feature of roads of the Archaic through Hellenistic periods, being absent from earlier (Mycenaean) roads as well as from Roman and later ones.

In this book Pikoulas reconstructs a veritable network of carriageable roads, leading from one territory into another. The roadside buildings in the Argolid-Corinthia, which are also presented in a detailed catalogue, are interpreted by him as having protected the road system. Although their dating is often problematical, most of these guardhouses are thought to belong to the fourth century B.C. As to the purpose of all these arrangements, it must have to do with ensuring the slow but safe transport – often over hilly or mountainous terrain – not of people but of goods too heavy and/or bulky for human porters or pack animals to carry. Textual and figured evidence from ancient Greece attest to the use for this purpose of both two-wheeled carts and four-wheeled wagons, pulled by teams of asses, mules or oxen. The numerous physical remains of the roads show that this form of transport must have been widespread.

Pikoulas assumes a central authority behind the creation and maintenance of the road and guardhouse system: namely, the Spartans and their Peloponnesian allies. The purpose of the road-network would then be to facilitate the transport of the baggage of infantry armies on the march, while at the same time helping that of agricultural produce.

However, a primarily military function for the roads under discussion is not unproblematic. It raises questions such as

the likely attitude of Argos, Sparta's long-standing major rival in the area. And what about the similar roads in other parts of Greece, including those known to the reviewer in the area of Geraki in south-central Lakonia, where such a need does not seem to be obvious?

However this may be, the book under review is most valuable, containing much new evidence, alongside thought-provoking interpretations. It is well produced and illustrated with many maps (taken from the Greek Army 1:50.000 series), drawings and photographs. Pikoulas' next major publication, on the roads and road-network of ancient Lakonia, is eagerly awaited.

Joost Crouwel

MARY B. MOORE, *Attic red-figured and white-ground pottery; The Athenian Agora, Results of Excavations conducted by The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Vol. xxx; Princeton, New Jersey, 1997*. 419 pp. 157 pls., plan; ills; 31 cm. – ISBN 0-87661-230-3.

Whoever starts reading, or rather studying, this rich volume, is struck by the clear and masterful way in which the authoress ranges over the vast field of Attic red-figure. In the Foreword she tells us that 'preparing the material for publication has been an enormous pleasure'; the reader certainly profits from this mood.

It contains 1684 items, all described in detail and more than 80 percent well-illustrated on 157 plates.

Most shapes are represented but there are no Nolan amphorae, amphorae type A, dinoi, kyathoi and some other shapes. The material coming from a civic centre 'tends towards the practical and the less ambitious' (p. 10). In fact, it is, on the whole, mediocre.

The vol. starts with a chapter on shape studies, 70 extremely useful pages, following the arrangement of ARV. It reads as a practical handbook and will be a great help to scholars and students alike. Then there is a study of potters and painters, a 'simple account that charts the development, notes innovations' etc. This is an understatement; for example, the way in which the beginnings of red-figure are treated, starting with the great forerunners Exekias and Amasis, and then dealing with the question how red-figure came into being, is admirable. Incidentally I follow D. Williams when he denies that the Andokides Painter can have started as a painter of marble reliefs (p. 82, as Beth Cohen proposes) and I am glad that it is believed that the problem of the identity or non-identity of the Andokides and the Lysippides Painters is, at least for the time being, decided in favour of two different hands. This chapter, entitled Potters, Painters, Groups and Classes occupies fifty absolutely fascinating pages.

M. is very careful with attributions. In a few cases an attribution by Beazley is changed: no. 835 (Achilles Painter in ARV, but Oakley: Providence Painter), no. 904 (separated from the Phiale Painter by Oakley), no. 1419 (from the Berlin Painter to the Foundry Painter, D. Williams) and the famous Gorgos cup no. 1407 which she also takes away from the Berlin Painter (p. 318). Curiously enough she leaves unchanged Beazley's vague attribution of

no. 1454, which, like no. 1445, clearly is by the Painter of Orvieto 191A (see CVA Amsterdam 1, pl. 51, 5-7). As regards the quality of the material, there are some fine pieces (see below) but most are by lesser hands, e.g., the Epeleios, Pithos and Heraion Painters; there are many products by the Penthesileans but fortunately several pieces by better artists such as the Kleophon and Dinos Painters; the Meidias workshop is prominent; in the fourth century the quality worsens considerably.

Of course, readers will turn to paragraphs that are of special interest to them. I myself have much profited from the essay on the Kleophon and Dinos Painters, p.119 ff. Browsing through the Catalogue and the countless illustrations there is much that amuses, surprises and sometimes captivates.

Amusing is the cosy dove on a Doric capital (no. 343) and the phallos bird (with broken neck?) of the Geras Painter (no. 32). I always like to see a Thracian contemporary of Herodotus (no. 330, Louvre Centaureomachy Painter) wearing the alopeke described by the historian (Hdt.7, 75). The way in which the woman of 1582 handles the child seems unduly rough; crude and clumsy are the workmen in the bronze foundry of no. 716. Funny is the 'ressurrection of the liknites' on 718. And remarkable indeed is the cup no. 1411 with a very ornate lady with mirror, sitting next to her bed and, standing beside her, a monstrous lilliputian holding a Heracles-like club (one is reminded of the Spanish court-dwarfs of the 16-7th century). We are not told why she kept such a human pet, nor whether she is a hetaere; on A and B there are boys and youths handling thick-tailed martens (rather than foxes). Epiktetos is, of course, usually quite good; is the strange positioning of the eyes of the two boxing youths (on no. 1514) meant to show how the fight makes their eyes bulge? Incidentally, on no. 1554, the head of the fine hetaere is unusually large for this delicate painter; he would, if he could, have corrected this mistake, but the medium is inexorable. There are of course numerous clumsy and hideous items; not too bad is no. 1408 (an athlete in the act of starting the jump) but remarkably bad are e.g. nos. 50 and 1413 (Painter Munich 2335) and also the Washing Painter produces some revoltingly stupid faces (nos. 86, 103). Compared to these, the countless sherds by the Pithos Painter and his colleagues are tolerable (pl. 147 etc.). And so we could go on but we must redress the balance by pointing out some of the finely drawn items such as nos. 1570 (the well-known white ground cup with a boy tuning his lyre), 585 (Euthymides), 23 (Achilles Painter), 254 f. (Kleophrades Painter), 1340 (Ashby Painter) and the Gorgos cup (no. 1407).

Thus we see that this splendid book is not only highly instructive and excellently organized and written, but also quite entertaining.

J.M. Hemelrijk

FELICE GINO LO PORTO, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Italia fasc.Ixx; Museo Nazionale di Taranto – Collezione Rotondo, fasc. IV*; Roma: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 1998. 29 pp., 48 pls., ills. : 33 cm. – ISBN 88-8265-030-8.

These are vases from an ancient collection formed in or near Taranto, once owned by Pietro Rotondo and thanks to two ministerial decisions (1966 and 1980) subjected to 'vincolo archeologico', which seems to mean that they were acquired by the state (they are now in the museum of Taranto).

It contains nearly a hundred vases, mostly unknown, here published on 48 plates with excellent photographs. The quality and interest of many of the vases is mediocre; as in the case of numerous fascicules of the CVA the main purpose of their publication is future statistical research on production and the chances of preservation of Greek pots. In this fascicule, for example, one thinks of the question how it is that so many lekythoi by the Bowdoin Painter have come down to us, especially if we take him to be the same artisan as the Athena Painter. His lekythos (pl. 24.1) is of rather better quality than many other vases of this volume: Corinthian pots, bf. lekythoi, amphorae, jugs, hurriedly painted cups and skyphoi etc., all trivial in themselves.

However, there are, of course, a number which deserve close attention for their quality or curious character.

The most remarkable is an already well-known, beautifully preserved, tall Panathenaic amphora with the apotheosis of Heracles (pls. 27-32), attributed to the Talos Painter (by the author?). On A we see Heracles ascending a quadriga with a rather effeminate Iolaos (!) as auriga; Heracles is depicted as if he has just managed to jump on to the chariot which was hurrying by, almost falling backwards but just holding on to the front railing. The horses are galloping wildly though rhythmically, but their heads shown in three-quarter view are badly mis-drawn, rather as if their jaws are wrenched out of joint by the pulling of the driver. On B we see Heracles again, now deified, sitting in front of a flimsy chapel (a four-post sacellum, again drawn in rather strange perspective), Athena standing contentedly before him, as if congratulating him but looking dreamily over his head, her right foot resting on a rock (not indicated). The roof of the chapel is open, covered only with three boards; on it we see, to our surprise, a dinos-on-stand, put upside down. Under the handles two round-breasted Nikai in wildly swirling clothes are bringing a thurible, a metal phiale and a long wreath to celebrate the hero. As for the style of these interesting scenes: the most striking are the short curly lines indicating folds at the contours of the legs of Athena and the Nikai and the general interest in the swirling of thin material.

As is often the case with private collections, the pots and vases are on the whole well-preserved, see for example the bf. Campanian lekythos of pl.46 and the Gnathia lekythoi of pl. 43 (one with a curious lady-acrobat) or the beaker on pl. 44.6 with a remarkable swan in added white, fluttering vertically upwards to peck at the berries of an ivy branch.

Some of the Italian vases have been attributed by Trendall and colleagues, but the attribution of Attic vases seems to be mostly by the author. Unfortunately, I do not know how far these attributions should stand: the figures on the skyphos pl. 26.1-2, for example, seem rather clumsy and their proportions weak for the Lewis Painter; and the young man who has jumped into a krater on pl. 22.2 seems

too heavily built for the Euergides Painter. I feel doubtful about the attribution of the bf. amphora of pl. 6 (Antimenes Painter) and the girl on the wh.gr. lekythos of pl. 19.1-2 does not look like a drawing by the Sabouroff Painter. But I may well be wrong and therefore the specialists in these matters should decide such (not unimportant) matters and not modestly keep their expert-judgement to themselves: in the last decades there has been an uncontrolled increase of attributions about which most readers feel uneasy. There is need of a decisive verdict: I would be grateful if the experts published extensive lists that tell us which recent attributions are to be believed and which not.

J.M. Hemelrijk

I culti della Campania antica. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi in ricordo di Nazarena Valenza Mele (Napoli, 15-17 maggio 1995), Roma, Giorgio Bretschneider Editore 1998 (Pubblicazioni scientifiche del Centro di Studi della Magna Grecia dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli 'Federico II', terza serie, vol. III), pp. XVIII+302, 94 tavv.

Un nutrito gruppo di colleghi, amici e allievi di Nazarena Valenza Mele ha voluto ricordare la memoria della studiosa prematuramente scomparsa con un Convegno Internazionale tenutosi a Napoli nel 1995. I ventisei interventi sono articolati in tre grandi sezioni: le colonie greche, l'area etrusco-italica, l'età romana.

Nella prima sezione, P.G. Guzzo affronta il problema, mai sondato a sufficienza, dell'uso di metalli preziosi nella produzione di ex voto per santuari dell'Italia meridionale. Particolarmente interessanti appaiono le considerazioni relative alla statuetta d'argento da Paestum raffigurante un Ercole di tipo italico: il problema della individuazione della bottega produttrice e della sua eventuale 'coloritura' italica (p. 32) sembra connesso a quello, altrove toccato dallo stesso A. (*MEFRA* 92.2, 1980, p. 867; *MusHelv* 38, 1981, pp. 55 ss.), della manifattura non magno-greca di alcuni tipi di corazze in bronzo di IV sec. a.C.

Un numero rilevante di saggi è dedicato all'esame dei materiali votivi rinvenuti in stipi della Campania greca e anellenica. G. Tocco passa in rassegna materiali dal santuario meridionale di Poseidonia, che dovrebbero indicare un culto indigeno delle acque preesistente la nascita della colonia, mentre G. Greco e A. Pontrandolfo esaminano da ottiche diverse le testimonianze poseidoniate relative ad Hera. La prima studiosa definisce le complessive assonanze del culto stabilito alla Foce del Sele con quello originario di matrice argivo-corinzia e al contempo enuclea le peculiarità che si evincono dai diversi tipi di ex voto fittili rinvenuti all'interno del santuario: vediamo così una Hera poseidoniate che assume connotazioni kourotrofiche, 'ippie' o ancora di divinità guerriera preposta al passaggio all'età adulta, con dominanti connotazioni di fertilità, raccolte poi in parte dalla Hera 'pestana'. A. Pontrandolfo, sulla scia di precedenti studi da lei stessa condotti in collaborazione con E. Mugione, tenta invece di connettere gli aspetti argivi del culto poseidoniate con i miti ellenici legati alla fondazione dell'Heraion del Sele, prima tra tutti la saga argonautica, destinata forse

a rivitalizzare nel V sec. a.C. la più antica tradizione achea della città e la sua funzione di snodo di itinerari marittimi e interni tra Ionio, Adriatico e Tirreno. Lo studio si inserisce in un contesto di ricerche 'argonautiche' arricchitosi in anni recenti di molti contributi: ai lavori discussi dall'A. in *Le mythe grec dans l'Italie antique*, Paris-Roma 1999, pp. 329 ss., è possibile aggiungere ora la stimolante lettura di C.J. Smith (in *Ancient Greeks East and West*, Leiden 1999, pp. 179 ss.) che interpreta appunto la saga di Giasone come un mito di comunicazione, in un sistema di 'barter and exchange', per usare la terminologia economica anglosassone, di cui sono stati sufficientemente chiariti i possibili meccanismi nell'Occidente italico di epoca orientalizzante, non altrettanto forse nell'ambiente medio-tirrenico del IV sec. a.C.

L'intervento di J.-P. Morel torna a considerare l'abbondantissimo materiale restituito dai recenti scavi nel santuario di Fondo Ruozzo a Teano. I nuovi dati offerti dallo studioso paiono significativamente in linea con il quadro di una Teano cerniera tra Campania settentrionale e aree interne del Lazio, enucleando i caratteri di un culto femminile matronale che mostra possibili attaches con l'ambiente tiberino e affida il suo messaggio votivo a sculture fittili non prive di analogie con produzioni del medesimo milieu geografico.

Al di fuori dei grandi centri e delle più importanti aree di culto, lo studio di L.A. Scatozza presenta materiali votivi da Avella, attestanti un culto femminile della fecondità e della nascita con possibili connotazioni ctonie simile nei tratti generali a quello di molte altre aree sacre della Campania. Ancora terrecotte, ma questa volta architettoniche, sono oggetto dell'intervento di C. Rescigno, che tenta di ricostruire un quadro dei 'tetti campani' in epoca post-arcaica sulla base di una documentazione a tutt'oggi estremamente frammentaria; emergono in ogni caso elementi sufficienti a postulare l'esistenza di botteghe ben organizzate, che aggiornano i tradizionali sistemi campani di VI sec. a.C. pur ricalcandone gli elementi costitutivi essenziali: molto interessante appare in questo quadro l'antefissa nimbata con gorgoneion di provenienza pitecusaniana (tav. XXX, 2), che mi pare riproduca i medesimi modelli in voga nell'artigianato artistico prenestino (G. Bordenache Battaglia *Le ciste prenestine*, Roma 1990, tav. CCCXVI, cat.n. 69) tra decenni centrali e seconda metà del IV sec. a.C., suggerendo una volta di più l'esistenza di legami tra Praeneste e il milieu magno-greco per il possibile tramite campano (cfr. d'altra parte lo stesso fregio inferiore del corpo della cista Ficoroni, con coppie di sfingi contrapposte che replicano un motivo ben attestato nelle lastre di rivestimento campane, sia a Capua che nel tempio dorico di Pompei: L. Richardson, in *PP* 29, 1974, p. 287; L.A. Scatozza, in *Deliciae Fictiles* II, Amsterdam 1997, p. 190, fig. 3; H. Koch, *Die Dachterrakotten aus Campanien*, Berlin 1912, tav. XXXI. 2).

Sulla base di un esame comparato della Tabula Capuana, di notizie liviane riferibili alla II guerra punica e di evidenze epigrafiche di epoca tardo-antica, la relazione di M. Cristofani tenta di determinare i caratteri del culto che aveva luogo ad Hamae, santuario di confine situato nelle vicinanze di Cuma e connotato probabilmente in senso federale: un culto 'legato ai processi di crescita, sia agrari

che umani' e forse non distante da quello della stessa Diana Tifatina, per il suo carattere notturno. Il confronto con il santuario del Tifata appare d'altra parte a Cristofani significativo anche perché i due luoghi sono entrambi situati in zone di 'frontiera', a segnalare una radicata e piena occupazione del territorio da parte degli Etruschi.

Direttamente collegato ai culti di Capua, ed anzi al più noto dei suoi santuari, Fondo Patturelli, è lo studio di una lamina plumbea con iscrizione osca proposto da P. Poccetti: pertinente non propriamente al tipo delle 'tabellae defixionum', quanto piuttosto alle 'preghiere di giustizia' da parte soprattutto di donne che hanno subito torti di varia natura, il testo appare offerto a Ceres come garante degli ordinamenti della famiglia e della società e ricorda molto da vicino analoghi documenti epigrafici dedicati a Demetra e rinvenuti nel santuario di questa dea a Cnido. Le connessioni elleniche, già di per sé molto importanti per una definizione del quadro culturale della città di Capua, si affiancano a non meno rilevanti attaches con culti 'italici' come quelli della Cannicella a Orvieto e di Libitina sull'Esquilino, pure connessi, come Fondo Patturelli, ad un'area di necropoli.

Tra le tematiche relative ai culti un posto di rilievo è occupato naturalmente dall'Athenaion di Punta della Campanella, oggetto nel passato decennio di importanti studi. Valorizzando in proposito i contributi archeologici ed epigrafico-linguistici di G. Colonna, M. Cristofani e S. De Caro, l'intervento di F. Zevi postula a ragione, per quest'area del Tirreno, un 'larghissimo quadro di accordi' fissato nelle sue linee generali fin dalla fine del VII sec. a.C., che se da un lato doveva prevedere le fondazioni di Poseidonia e di Massalia e lasciava spazio all'apertura di empori greci in territorio etrusco, dall'altro consentiva la fondazione etrusca di Pompei e la nascita di insediamenti etruschi di vario tipo sulla costa campana tra il golfo di Napoli e quello di Salerno, chiudendo ogni spazio ad eventuali ulteriori ktiseis greche in quest'area. In tale quadro il Sele avrebbe quindi conservato la sua connotazione di confine per la grecità d'occidente, e l'Athenaion di Punta della Campanella avrebbe garantito, all'interno di un contesto territoriale non greco, il sistema di scambi marittimi tirrenici. La credibilità di questa ricostruzione storica è suggerita anche dalle evidenze materiali del santuario sorrentino (cfr. da ultimo M. Russo, in *Pompei, il Sarno e la penisola sorrentina*. Atti del I ciclo di conferenze (Pompei, Istituto 'B. Longo', 1997), Pompei 1998, pp. 59 ss.) sostanzialmente analoghe a quelle del tempio etrusco di Apollo a Pompei, oltre che naturalmente dal quadro complessivo della stanzialità etrusca nella penisola e nella valle del Sarno posta alle sue spalle (su questa linea anche V. Sampaolo, in *AttiMemMagnaGr*, terza serie I, 1992, p. 103). Il saggio di L. Breglia pone al contrario l'accento sulla intrinseca grecità del culto di Athena di Punta della Campanella, rivendicandone con ampiezza di riferimenti gli aspetti calcidesi e inferendone un utilizzo nella seconda metà del VI sec. a.C. all'interno del progetto politico di Aristodemo (su posizioni in parte simili B. D'Agostino, nella discussione del Convegno, p. 292). I caratteri ellenici del culto marittimo di Athena in un contesto tirrenico segnato così profondamente dal mito odissaeico e dalla presenza delle Sirene sono in effetti non facilmente oppugnabili: ciò non sembra tuttavia implicare

necessariamente il riconoscimento (in questo senso cfr. l'intervento di Zevi nella discussione del Convegno, pp. 293-294) di un utilizzo del santuario esclusivamente da parte di genti greche; quale che sia l'origine del culto, infatti (e le evidenze empiriche dell'Etruria propria potrebbero forse a loro modo confermarlo), l'Athenaion sembra svolgere le sue funzioni di 'orientamento', non solo marittimo, in un contesto fortemente condizionato dalla presenza etrusca, ove elemento dirimente per una piena comprensione delle vicende campane tra VII e VI sec. a.C. appare proprio l'accordo tra questa componente etnica e i Greci. Autonomo appare, a mio avviso, il problema dell'interpretazione delle ormai celebri statuette di Athena con elmo frigio rinvenute nel santuario: la loro datazione in epoca avanzata consiglia forse di tentarne l'interpretazione in un contesto differente, questo sì con ogni probabilità dominato dall'elemento magno-greco e sud-italico. Da tali materiali non sembra d'altra parte che possa essere del tutto disgiunta l'occorrenza, a Pompei e in altre località dell'area, di antefisse a testa di Athena con elmo frigio e di Herakles, di analogo orizzonte cronologico (Scatozza, cit., pp. 189 ss.: le antefisse femminili con berretto frigio di Taranto portate a confronto non pertengono tuttavia a questo tipo iconografico: cfr. H. Herdejürgen, in *AA* 1983, pp. 50 ss.), che trovano a loro volta preziosi riferimenti iconografici e ideologici in ambiente etrusco tra Orvieto, Talamone e Cosa (per Orvieto: Scatozza, cit., p. 191: problematica in questo caso la definizione del personaggio femminile che indossa il berretto frigio; per Talamone: *Talamone. Il mito dei Sette a Tebe*, Firenze 1982, pp. 61 ss.; per il tempio di Jupiter a Cosa: *La romanizzazione dell'Etruria. Il territorio di Vulci*, Milano 1985, p. 98. A Talamone e Cosa le teste femminili, identificabili sicuramente con Athena e pure alternate a teste di Herakles, come negli exx. campani, hanno tuttavia elmo di tipo diverso. Per un accostamento delle antefisse di Cosa agli exx. campani cfr. già L. Richardson jr., in *MAAR* 27, 1960, p. 157).

Un problema centrale della letteratura etruscologica degli ultimi due decenni, la funzione politica del culto di Apollo come legittimazione del quadro dei rapporti in ambito tirrenico di epoca arcaica, viene delineato in maniera convincente nell'intervento di B. D'Agostino e L. Cerchiai. Qualche perplessità può sorgere sul riconoscimento dell'importanza del culto di Apollo a Tarquinia (cfr. in proposito gli interventi di Cristofani e Zevi, pp. 289, 293) e della connotazione ellenizzante dei materiali del santuario pompeiano, da cui si evincerebbe 'l'atteggiamento filellenico che ha presieduto all'introduzione del culto' (pp. 122-123): se infatti i caratteri delle terrecotte architettoniche del tempio rientrano nella koiné campana, le ceramiche votive, pur non escludendo affatto la presenza di 'interlocutori greci' (p. 123), sono allineate con quelle di altri depositi coevi di Lazio ed Etruria e appaiono perfettamente compatibili col quadro culturale della fondazione etrusca di Pompei (cfr. M. Cristofani, in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompei*, Napoli 1992, pp. 7 ss., con rinvio anche al pionieristico studio di S. De Caro; ma anche M. Russo, in *AION* 14, 1992, p. 202. Una sintesi dei molti problemi relativi all'architettura (e ai culti) pompeiani di epoca arcaica è presentata da B. D'Agostino in *Atti del 33. Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia*, Taranto 1994,

pp. 431 ss. e in *Deliciae fictiles* II, pp. 55 ss.; cfr. anche B. Barletta, in *MAAR* 41, 1996, pp. 1 ss.).

Ancora testimonianze del culto di Apollo, ma dal milieu crotoniate, vengono presentate da M.L. Lazzarini: una iscrizione greca su tabella bronzea della prima metà del V sec. a.C. costituisce conferma a una serie di indizi sulla presenza del dio in questa città in un contesto che evidenze monetali e notizie tradite dalle fonti definiscono come delfico. Particolarmente importante, quindi, il dato della convivenza, nella polis, di Apollo e Hera, coinvolti entrambi, come sappiamo, nell'insegnamento pitagorico e profondamente radicati nella dimensione 'civica e urbana'.

La relazione di F. Giudice, di impianto totalmente differente, si inserisce in un progetto di ricerca avviato dallo studioso ormai da molti anni: la lettura – quantitativa, iconografica, ideologica – delle rappresentazioni vascolari attiche di epoca arcaica mediante l'ausilio di strumenti informatico-statistici. In accordo con la tematica dominante del volume, viene qui valutata la velocità di 'trasferimento' di alcuni filoni iconografici dal contesto di origine a quello coloniale d'Occidente. Il quadro che ne emerge riserva novità interessanti: da un lato la più pronta esportazione di motivi dalla valenza pubblica 'nazionale' (come quelli connessi con le guerre persiane); dall'altro una trasmissione più cauta e meditata di soggetti legati alla realtà culturale e religiosa della città. Si attendono, in questo caso, chiarimenti sul problema più generale della contestualizzazione delle ceramiche attiche nel milieu di accoglienza, intorno al quale si è sviluppato negli ultimi anni un vivace dibattito (dello stesso A. la relazione in *Le mythe grec* ...cit., pp. 267 ss.; in relazione all'Etruria, e su posizioni che appaiono sempre più distanti dalla realtà culturale epicorica, si esprimono ancora una volta D.W. Gill e M. Vickers, in *REA* 97, 1995, pp. 225 ss.).

Le sezioni 'greco-italiche' del Convegno includono anche contributi di carattere numismatico e archeologico in senso stretto. R. Cantilena si sofferma su un tipo monetale di V sec. a.C. con testa di Athena da Cuma, riesaminandone la possibile rilevanza storica alla luce dei culti dell'area campana e della eventuale presenza siracusana nel golfo di Napoli dopo la battaglia di Cuma. N. Parise illustra i meccanismi dell'adozione in contesto campano del tipo italiota con 'Hera Lacinia', non riconducibile a suo avviso a motivazioni di carattere politico o religioso. J. de La Gèniere e G. Greco, sulla base di un riesame 'sul campo' delle stratigrafie, propongono un abbassamento della cronologia del c.d. Thesauros del Sele, fondamentale per una corretta attribuzione del celebre ciclo di metope arcaiche (cfr. anche l'intervento di D. Mertens, pp. 285-286; più di recente M. Torelli-C. Masseria, in *Le mythe grec*...cit., 205 ss., con rilettura dei soggetti mitici nella loro pertinenza a un Heraion 'acheo e di frontiera'). E. Greco presenta un complesso santuarioale (Asklepieion?) di epoca tardo-classica, individuato nell'area a Sud-Est del Foro di Paestum. L'intervento di F. Coarelli, infine, relativo al culto di Mefitis in Campania e alla sua adozione a Roma (ad opera dei Papirii?), costituisce una sorta di ponte verso le problematiche 'romane' della terza sezione del volume. Il contributo di L. Quilici, in apertura a questa sezione, ripercorre le vicende della straor-

dinaria (e incompiuta) 'fossa neroniana' concepita per congiungere il golfo di Pozzuoli a Roma, rilevandone a un tempo la grandiosità e l'avanzato stato di realizzazione. Da questo saggio di taglio topografico si passa alla lettura prettamente filologica, effettuata da M. Gigante, di testi e documenti archeologici che testimoniano un ricorrente, suggestivo accostamento tra Vesuvio ed elemento dionisiaco, entrambi elargitori di ebbrezza e follia, di ricchezza e di morte. Segue un gruppo di lavori a carattere essenzialmente archeologico e storico: di S. Adamo Muscettola, con una proposta di datazione in epoca augustea delle sculture del Capitolium cumano (interessanti in proposito le opinioni espresse dai diversi partecipanti nella discussione, pp. 300 ss.); di E. Miranda, sulle attestazioni epigrafiche di una serie di sacerdozi femminili a Napoli in epoca romana, con particolare riferimento ai culti di Athena Sicula, Demetra e Augusto; di S. De Caro, con la ricostruzione della eccezionale dedica, ad opera della famiglia imperiale, di una lucerna aurea nel santuario pompeiano di Venere, probabilmente a seguito del terremoto del 62 d.C. e dei successivi restauri; di M. Torelli, sull'affermazione del culto dinastico a Pompei, con ampia disamina di evidenze storiche, epigrafiche e monumentali relative alla città e una rilettura, in chiave di propaganda dinastica appunto, dell'edificio di Eumachia nelle sue definite componenti architettoniche.

Chiude il volume uno stimolante intervento di A. Schnapp sul ruolo fondamentale svolto da Hamilton e d'Hancarville nella nascita della nuova scienza antiquaria e sulla vivacità, in questo specifico settore, dello stesso quadro culturale napoletano tra Sette e Ottocento.

Fernando Gilotta

JANOS GYÖRGY SZILÁGYI, *Ceramica etrusco-corinzia figurata. Parte I 630-580 a.C.; Parte II 590/580-550 a.C.* (Monumenti Etruschi 7 und 8). Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, I: 1992, II: 1998. 760 S., 182 Fig., 261 T.; 32 Zm. ISBN 88-222-3954-7 und 88-222-4655-1.

Dieses monumentale, zweiteilige, vorzüglich herausgebrachte und illustrierte Meisterwerk ist ein sehr systematischer *catalogue raisonné* von ungefähr 3500 etrusco-korinthischen Vasen, möglich 0,5 bis 3% von dem was jeweils in Küststädten von Südetrurien produziert wurde. Es ist das Lebenswerk des ungarischen Etruskologen J.G. Szilágyi. Seine Arbeitsweise ist sehr gewissenhaft. Alle Forscher, die ihm – ab 1837 – vorgehen, von Cramer bis Colonna, werden respektvoll jedoch nicht kritiklos behandelt. Das Werk bietet vor allem eine Klassifikation und Datierung, mit einer Präzision von 10 bis 20 Jahren, von Vasen die Zyklen, Kreisen, Schulen, Werkstätten, Gruppen, Untergruppen, Malern oder dem Manier eines Malers und Produktions- oder 'Epizentren' zugerechnet werden. Diese nicht immer transparente Terminologie (vgl. S. 290, Anm. 13) und die Arbeitsmethode sind den Studien von A. Blakeway, J.D. Beazley und G. Colonna entliehen worden. Die Zuweisung an Gruppen und Maler basiert sich an erster Stelle auf die Malerei und weniger auf die Formen.

Der Verfasser datiert u.a. aufgrund von Grabinventaren und stilistischen Kriterien. Im letzten Fall bietet die korinthische Keramik das wichtigste Vergleichsmaterial. Der Verfasser gebraucht Payne's grundlegende, bisher kaum umstrittene Datierung korinthischer Vasen. Weiter geht er davon aus, daß ein Meistermaler 10 bis 25 Jahre arbeitete. Im ersten Teil behandelt er ca. 700 Vasen die zwischen 630 und 580 v.Chr., die erste Periode, datiert werden: die polychromen Vasen (Monte Abetone und Castellani Gruppen), die schwarzfigurigen Vasen der 'antiken Periode' und die Schule von Vulci der 'zweiten Generation' (ca. 600-580 v.Chr.). Im zweiten Teil werden ca. 2800 Vasen der Zeit zwischen 590/580 bis 550 v. Chr., der zweiten Periode, behandelt: die Schule von Vulci der 'dritten Generation' (Zyklus der *olpai*; Zyklus der Rosetten usw.), die Schule von Tarquinia, die Epigonen, das heißt die Schüler oder Nachfolger der Maler der 'dritten Generation', und die späten großen Zyklen und schließlich die nicht klassifizierbaren Vasen. Wie aus den Umschreibungen wie Epigone hervorgeht, ist es nicht immer möglich festzustellen, ob Nachfolger gleichzeitig mit oder später als ihre Meister arbeiteten. Die Erscheinung der ältesten Gruppe, der polychromen Vasen, fällt zusammen mit der Übergang von protokorinthischer nach korinthischer Keramik. Dennoch sind Formen und Stil nicht nur von korinthischer Keramik beeinflusst; auch Einflüsse von importierten phönizisch-kyprischen, ostgriechischen, und lakonischen Vasen sind bemerkbar. In der ersten Periode waren Vulci und Caere die wichtigsten Produktionszentren, in der zweiten Periode kam Tarquinia dazu. Manchmal übersiedelten Maler von Vulci in südliche Richtung, z.B. Tarquinia. Meist künstlerisch sind die polychromen Vasen, meist synthetisierend, d.h. etruskische und korinthische Elemente kombinierend, sind die Vasen der zweiten Generation; die Vasen der dritten Generation sind Massenprodukte ohne großen künstlerischen Wert. Faszinierend in der letzten Periode ist das hohe Maß der Spezialisierung: um Konkurrenz zu vermeiden machte jede Werkstatt eine oder mehr bestimmte Vasenformen. Die Vasenformen sagen auch etwas aus über die Käufer. Man sieht im Laufe von ca. siebzig Jahren das Phänomen einer gewissen 'Demokratisierung' im Gebrauch der Keramik. Unter den Vasen der ersten Generation waren Amphoren am meisten populär bei den allerreichsten, den sogenannten principes; später bevorzugte die regierende Klasse Bankettvasen in der Keramik der zweiten Generation. Ab ca. 580 v. Chr., also der Zeit des realen oder mythischen Königs Servius Tullius, kaufte die viel größere reiche Mittelklasse kleinere Vasen, *kylikes* für das Bankett und weiter *pyxides* und *balsamaria* zu kosmetischen Zwecken. Diese kleinen, billigen Vasen sind ohne Unterschied in Siedlungen, Gräbern und Heiligtümern gefunden worden. In der zweiten Periode fand auch Export statt, hauptsächlich von Vulci aus, z.B. nicht nur in die faliskischen und sabinischen Gebiete, nach Latium, Kampanien sondern auch nach Karthago, Sardinien und Südfrankreich. Die Vasenbilder zeigen für 99% reelle oder hybride Tiere. Was die Interpretation der wenigen mythologischen Szenen anbelangt, ist der Verfasser sehr vorsichtig. Er schließt nicht aus, daß griechische Kompositionen benutzt wurden, um lokale Mythen wiederzugeben. Die Vasenbilder sagen wenig aus über die etruskische Religion: es gibt

Figuren wie *despotes ornithon*, *potnia theron*, *pastor sanctissimus*, *dendrophoros* usw. die in einem eklektischen Kontext weder maximal noch minimal zu deuten sind. Es gibt nur eine kleine Kategorie von Vasen (mit offenem Boden) die speziell für das Grab oder Grabrituell gemacht wurde (S. 483). Trotz des Umfangs der Publikation gibt es noch ungelöste Fragen. Zwei Gruppen die zu den großen späten Zyklen gehören, werden vom Verfasser zwischen 575/570 und 555/550 v.Chr. datiert, während ein *aryballos* in oder bei dem Schiffswrack von Giglio gefunden wurde, dessen noch nicht definitiv publizierter Inhalt zwischen 600 und 580 v.Chr. datiert wird (S. 647). Nicht ganz klar ist warum die Produktion etruskisch-korinthischer Vasen um 550 v. Chr. endete (S. 698/9). Szilágyi hat die vielen anderen Probleme im Epilog formuliert, mit der deutlichen Absicht, daß junge Archäologen diese lösen. Möge er viele Epigonen bekommen, die die Einsicht in die Akkulturationsprozesse der spät- und suborientalisierenden Periode in Südetrurien weiter vertiefen.

L.B. van der Meer

ADRIANO MAGGIANI, *Vasi attici figurati con dediche a divinità etrusche* (RdA Supplementi 18). Giorgio Bretschneider Ed., Roma 1997. 104 S., 123 Fig.; 30 cm. – ISBN 88-7689-069-6.

Dieses Buch ist wichtig weil es attische Vasen behandelt die in Etrurien von Graffiti versehen sind die den Namen einer etruskischen Gottheit und manchmal des Dedikanten nennen.

Es handelt sich um 2 Vasen aus Veio, die Menerva gewidmet sind, 5 aus Pyrgi, für Fuflunus (Dionysos), Suri (Soranus) und Cavatha (deren Identität umstritten ist), 3 aus Tarquinia, für Tinascliniara (die Dioskuren), Turun (Aphrodite) und Vea (Demeter), 6 aus Gravisca, für Turun und Vea, 4 aus Vulci, für Fufluns Pachie (den bakchischen Dionysos), 1 aus Roselle, für Artms (Artemis), 1 aus Populonia, für Kavtha, und 5 unbekannter Herkunft für Kavutha sech, Hercle (Herakles), Charu (Charon) und Vei (Demeter). Die meisten Vasen sind in Heiligtümern, einige in Gräbern gefunden. Natürlich stellt sich die Frage ob eine Zusammenhang besteht zwischen Vaseform oder Vasebilder und der Gottheit, für die er bestimmt wurde. Für Vasen in griechischen Heiligtümern hat F. Brommer als erster in einer Studie über lokale Themenwahl auf konziser Weise gezeigt dass die Weihungen, was Form oder Bilder betrifft, oft eine Beziehung zeigen mit den verehrten Gottheiten. Dieses griechische Paradigma ist von Maggiani auf eingreifender Weise studiert worden. Er zeigt dass die Bilder eine göttliche Epiphanie, einen Mythos die mit einer Gottheit zusammenhängt, oder die Sphäre des Kultes betreffen kann, auch wenn nicht alle Bilder explizit sind. Ein sehr nützliches Repertorium aller bekannten griechischen Votivvasen in Griechenland und Italien (auch in nichtgriechischen Regionen) ist mit einer Verweisung nach Literatur in Fußnoten zugefügt. Für Etrurien liegen die Sachen komplizierter. Das Verhältnis zwischen den wenigen mythologischen Bildern und einer bestimmten Gottheit ist komplizierter. Der Graffito Tinascliniara z.B. findet sich auf einer Schale von Olto

mit der Darstellung olympischer Gottheiten. Die Dioskuren selbst sind nicht abgebildet, ihr Vater Zeus wohl. Es stellt sich heraus dass die Assoziationen weniger transparent sind als in der griechischen Welt. Ob die Vasen *special commissions* waren oder selektiert durch Dedikanten, ist nicht mehr faßbar. Deutlich ist, daß die Autoritäten der Heiligtümer die schließliche Wahl der Vasen beeinflußt haben.

Ein kleiner Katalog nennt weiter acht etruskische Bronzestatuetten mit Weihinschriften die zwischen dem Ende des sechsten Jh. und 350 v. Chr. datiert werden können. Ein langes, hypothetisches Kapitel weiht der Verfasser der Identität der Gottheit Kavatha (Kavtha). Auf Grund der Fundkontexte und Vasenbilder mit einer Eule schließt er dass die Göttin zu vergleichen ist mit der Artemis-artigen Hekate, jedoch nicht identisch ist mit Cath(a) die zwei Mal auf der Bronzeleber von Piacenza genannt wird. Dass die Glosse von Dioskurides kanta *millefolium* oder *Solis oculum* nennt und Martianus Capella's zeugt dass *Celeritas Solis filia* in der sechsten Himmelregio, also in der *pars familiaris*, wohnt, ist für Maggiani kein Problem. Er sieht in der Umschreibung 'Auge des Sonnes' das Auge der Eule, Vogel der Nacht. In Pyrgi wird Kavatha zusammen mit Suri verehrt, und weil Suri (vgl. Lat. Soranus) eine chthonische Gottheit ist, so würde auch Kavatha der Sphäre der Unterwelt gehören. Diese Art Konjektur ist nicht überzeugend. Maggiani negiert ein drittes Faktum dass eine Vase Cavatha sech, also 'Tochter C.' nennt, was teilweise stimmt mit Martianus' Umschreibung 'Tochter der Sonne' und mit der Position von Catha in der direkten Umgebung von Usil (Sonne) auf der Bronzeleber (auch in der günstigen, nicht chthonischen Himmelhälfte). Auch die Abbildung eines weglaufernden Mädchens auf der Vase mit dem Graffito 'C. Tochter' stimmt, wie M. Cristofani gesehen hat, teilweise mit Martianus' Beschreibung 'Schnellheit, Tochter der Sonne'. Es gibt also keinen Grund Kavatha und Catha als zwei verschiedene Göttinnen zu interpretieren. Maggiani rechnet nicht damit daß Gottheiten ambivalent sein können. Es ist möglich das Cavatha/Catha nicht nur Göttin der Unterwelt, sondern auch Gottheit des Lichts ist. Auch Apulu (Apollo) z.B. ist in Etrurien ambivalent. Das Buch hat ein vorzügliches Fußnotenapparat, einige Zitate über dem Fußflans gewidmeten Vasen von F. Curti, M.P. Baglione und G. Colonna, und es ist vorbildlich illustriert. Es ist in ikonologischer und religionsgeschichtlicher Hinsicht äußerst wertvoll.

L.B. van der Meer

F.G. LO PORTO, *Corredi di tombe daunie da Minervino Murge*. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Monumenti Antichi, serie miscellanea- vol VI.2 (LVIII della serie generale). Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 1999. ISBN 88-7689-177-3.

Minervino Murge is a poorly known, pre-Roman site in the northern part of the present-day Bari province (Apulia, Italy). It is situated some 15 km south of the very important Iron-Age site of Canosa which survived into Roman times to become Canusium, the see of the *corrector Apuliae* in the 3rd century AD. Whilst Canosa and other

sites of the regional Iron Age settlement system such as Lavello and Canne-Antenisi were discussed in the bulky catalogue *Principi, imperatori, vescovi* (Venice 1992; accompanying the 1992 Bari exhibition of the same name), the site of Minervino Murge – although it belonged to the same cultural group – was conspicuous by its absence in the same publication. The volume of *Monumenti Antichi* discussed here, makes up for this omission: it contains a series of tombs found in the area surrounding Minervino in the 1960s.

The volume contains a series of burial contents described by Lo Porto. These do not stem from recent and systematic excavations. They were found by chance several decades ago during building activities in various areas around the present-day settlement. The publication, therefore, supplies no information on a group of coherent burials stemming from a well-defined period.

This all sounds very discouraging. Nevertheless, the volume is a useful contribution to our knowledge of the native cultural group living in the basin of the central-Apulian river Ofanto and its tributaries in pre-Roman times. It shows us the presence of one or more native groups, closely linked to the Iron Age settlements in and around Canosa, in the northern part of the limestone Murge hills.

Lo Porto's *Corredi di tombe daunie da Minervino Murge* discusses 25 tombs in the same systematic way that can be found in earlier publications (e.g., F.G. Lo Porto 1973: *Civiltà indigena e penetrazione greca nella Lucania orientale*, *MonAnt* 48 (1973), 145-251). Most striking are the late 6th-century burials, some of which contain a wealth of bronze objects. A good example of the elite burial is tomb OC 10 which also contains a necklace with amber beads such as depicted on a number of Daunian *stelai* from Siponto (see M.L. Nava, *Stele daunie*. Florence, 1981). Two 5th-century graves with swords (OC 11 and MS 3) raise the question why swords make their appearance in the graves of the Daunian Canosa and Melfi areas in the 5th century BC (though never in large numbers), whilst they disappear from the limestone *stelai* of Daunian Siponto in the course of the 6th century BC. *Corredi di tombe daunie* is exactly the volume the title suggests it should be. It does not offer a dashing view on an entirely unknown archaeological landscape. Instead, it offers good descriptions of 25 tombs with excellent drawings of many bronze objects found in them.

Douwe Yntema

PATRICIA S. LULOF, *The ridge-pole statues from the late archaic temple at Satricum*. Amsterdam, 1996, Reports and studies of the Satricum project. Scrinium XI-Satricum V. ISBN 90-5170-355-4.

Here is a volume of high scholarly achievement that is a pleasure to read, in which the complex details of the technical processes are clearly and graphically described.

This book is a study and a catalogue of a group of ten nearly life-size terracotta statues from the roof of the Late Archaic temple of Mater Matuta at Satricum. The statues are identified as representing a gigantomachy and the

individual participants, arranged in pairs, are Zeus and Hera, Apollo and Artemis, Dionysos and Aphrodite/Ino Leucothea, Herakles and Athena plus two wounded giants.

The volume is arranged in six chapters preceded by a foreword, a guide to the reader and an introduction (history of the excavations and publications and discussions) and followed by the evaluation and conclusions and appendices.

The introduction relates the long excavation history of the site at Borgo Le Ferriere, c. 60 km south-east of Rome, which began in the 1890s by Graillet, Barnabei, Cozza and Mengarelli and continued until the Dutch campaigns in the 1980s.

The first chapter deals extensively with the technique of manufacture and decoration of the statues. The second is a complete description and catalogue of each individual statue. The third and fourth chapter deal with the unattributed fragments of the statues and with the fragments of constructive parts. Chapter five is the reconstruction and setting of the statues while the sixth considers the workshop, its technique and style and the dating of the statues.

This book is a shining example of how to present technical details. The unavoidably complex bulk of material facing examination is clearly explained. The system in which the catalogue is arranged and the manner in which the exhaustive descriptions and the wealth of interpretative details are recounted, make the perusal of it pleasurable even to the non-specialist.

The reconstruction, interpretation and setting of the groups forming the roof-system is convincing and admirably described. The stylistic study and dating of the statues is impressive both for its scholarly merits and for its lucidity. The considerable body of the reconstructive technical illustration is exemplary for the wealth of detailed information. The reader is left with no doubts or ambiguities about any aspect of the temple decoration, gradually brought to life through the pages of this volume.

However, one aspect of this study seems to this reviewer to have been unconvincingly addressed.

Lulof tries hard to argue that the Greekness of the sculptures outweighs the Italic traits. The Greek influences and character of much of the statuary are indisputable, but this provincial Greekness which, according to Lulof, filtrated to Satricum via Campania does not exclude the involvement of accomplished artists who fully understood the complexity of the Etrusco-Italic, as well as the south Latium and Campanian tradition (Lulof herself mentions in her 'Evaluations and Conclusions' (p. 204) the possibility of different artists from divers background active within the same workshop). For example, the figures vary in size, indiscriminately of sex and rank in order to fit the group as desired in the given space. This impractical solution to the problems of symmetry is a concept alien to the purely Greek mind, but one that would have found no objection in an Italic context (Athena larger than Heracles could be acceptable if unusual, but a Zeus smaller than Hera is inconceivable).

In addition a certain disregard for iconographic traditions is suggested by the association of Athena and Herakles in a group. As Lulof herself states, 'in divine battles, such

as gigantomachies, Athena usually is shown fighting alone...Parallels show that Athena (especially in large sculptural groups) is usually killing a giant in a solitary group' (note 224). Lulof states that 'style and technique indicate that the statues were made by the workshop that produced all other elements of the terracotta roof...the statues were part of a well-balanced, but complex roof-system' (p. 167). It seems too dismissive in this light to argue, as Lulof does, that Etrusco-Italic subjects are poorly represented in the architectural decoration of the Late Archaic temple at Satricum. She considers that, since the Greek iconography of the Satrican gigantomachy was fully understood by the artist, a Greek must be accountable for it. At the same time she adds that regional influences can be found, such as the presence of Ino Leucothea in the function of her Latin equivalent Mater Matuta, the use of the ridge-pole figures in purely Etruscan-Italic tradition and in decorative details such as hairstyle (p. 165, p. 206).

In her 'Evaluation and Conclusions', Lulof suggests that, although the 'master' of the workshop was probably Greek, and possibly itinerant, many other artists contributed to the decoration of the temple complex. This theory should have been developed further. Obviously this is the key to the '(unbalanced) mixture of Greek and Italic characteristics' (p. 204) in the style of the Satrican statues. It seems that at Satricum a mixed but functioning workshop had been set up, one in which, well recognisable, diverse traditions merged to form a pleasing style of their own.

In chapter 5, in the section dealing with the architectural setting, it may have been worth expanding a little more on the academic discussion which is only briefly outlined, concerning the use of ridge-pole figures in Central Italy (p. 170-171). The questions raised by this issue are, after all, central to the subject of this volume.

Conclude the volume Appendices 1 and 2, a transcript of the original field journal (*Giornale degli scavi a Satricum 1896-1898*) and inventory book (*Libro di inventario, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia Roma 1904*). This commendable initiative, which links the early excavations with the modern research, helps to put into perspective the history of the Satricum excavations. It should be followed by others who intend to present sites which have so far only been inadequately published.

Sheila P. Girardon

Studi sulla Campania Preromana. Rome, G. Bretschneider, 1995. VIII-259 pp., 59 pls. Pubblicazioni Scientifiche del Centro di Studi della Magna Grecia dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II. Terza Serie Volume II. ISBN 88-7689-109-9.

This volume is a compilation of articles on various topics by a group of former students of the University of Naples having as the only common element Preroman Campania. Five articles deal with the study of materials in museum stores, the remaining studies are concerned with topographical problems.

The article by Francesco Sirano re-examines an outstanding bronze stand in the Naples Museum. The stand, dated to the late 8th century BC, was part of the rich grave

goods retrieved in 1902 in a tomb at Cumae. It had previously been discussed by I. Strøm who considered it an Etruscan imitation of a Cypriot type (Strøm I. *Problems Concerning the Origin and the Early Development of the Etruscan Orientalizing Style*. Odense 1971, p.147, fig.79). The starting point of Siranos' work is to compare the bronze stand with a similar terracotta example from a grave at S. Marzano sul Sarno. The morphological characteristics of the object lead also to draw a number of close parallels with ceramic examples from the Tiber region and particularly with the area of Falerii. The object of this typological and chronological study is to tackle the problem of the origin and function of the *holmoi* in the aristocratic society of Tyrrhenian Italy in the 8th and 7th centuries BC. In so doing Sirano draws a complex picture of the contacts between Greeks and Italic people on the western shores of Italy during the last part of the 8th century BC.

B. Limata examines four 8th-7th centuries BC. zoomorphic bronze pendants also in the Naples Museum. These objects, according to the existing information on their provenance, are a testimony of pre-Samnite Pompeii. S. Svaneras' article deals with the repertoire of painted motives, geometric, floral and figurative, decorating the archaic Etrusco-Campanian antefixes. This article offers some interesting elements that help to better define the place of the architectural terracottas in the context of the technical and artistic tradition of the Capuan workshops.

R. Benassi examines a class of bronze cinerary urns with lid from Etruscan Campania. The observations inferred by this exhaustive catalogue, in particular the frequent presence of horseman figures, athletes and horses on the lids, suggest to the author to associate this type of urns with the Campanian *aristoi* a social class known for its equestrian traditions.

Looking at a group of pots with applied tempera decoration from a cemetery at Cumae, A. De Filippis draws attention to the relationship between Sicily, Lipari and Campania in the late 4th, early 3rd centuries BC.

L. La Rocca, C. Rescigno, G. Soricelli carried out research on the Fondo Valentino in Cumae in order to establish the exact location of the sanctuary of Herea, previously identified by the late N. Valenza Mele.

N. Murolo examines the relationship between the cult of Herakles, the salt production and the practice of *transumanza* of livestock, using the existing documentation on the *Saline Herculis* at Pompeii.

Concluding the volume is a study by L. Boccieri and A. Castorina that re-examines the whole question of the identification of the site of Samnite Saticula, known only by literary sources, with S. Agata dei Goti, known for its rich 4th and 3rd centuries cemeteries. In this article, the ancient sources relating episodes of the history of Saticula are compared with archive documentation on the 18th and 19th centuries excavations carried out at S. Agata dei Goti. This volume is rich in information and contains some worthy, well-researched study; nevertheless, such a compilation of articles, although well intentioned, is lacking in unity and purpose.

Sheila P. Girardon

L. DONATI, *La casa dell' Impluvium. Architettura etrusca a Roselle*. Rome, G. Bretschneider, 1994. Archaeologica 106. ISBN 88-7689-100-5.

The volume by L. Donati publishes an excavation at Roselle, carried out between 1983 and 1991. This publication is remarkable as it deals with domestic architecture rather than with fortifications or the religious complex, our main source of knowledge of the site of Roselle so far.

Indeed, very little is known about Etruscan domestic architecture all together. This book provides an essential study in the reconstruction of urban development in the archaic period (the house was abandoned in the early 5th century BC.).

The volume is divided into two parts: I *L'Ambiente e gli antefatti*, II *La casa dell'Impluvium*, followed by an appendix which includes the detailed studies of the ceramic material and of the palaeoeconomy (*fauna e ambiente naturale*) associated with the site.

The well-preserved archaic dwelling, sitting on the rock-bed of the northern plateau of the settlement, is dated to the 6th century BC. The excavations exposed a portico, a large covered hall facing a courtyard and five additional rooms of varying size. The two larger rooms also opened onto the courtyard. One of these revealed in the centre a shallow, rectangular basin with terracotta slab flooring and post-holes along the borders. The post-holes have been interpreted as evidence for an inward-sloping roof intended to collect rainwater into the basin. This basin was connected to a cistern via a small channel. This room has been identified as an *atrium* with *compluvium* and *impluvium*, the earliest such example in Italy before the 4th century BC.

The excavation of this site is undoubtedly very important and the monograph has been praised for the unusual swiftness of its publication. However, the graphic documentation of this, otherwise remarkable, volume is not always complete (the sections are few and not always indicated on the planimetry). Some inconsistencies can be encountered in the text (for example the description of *vano VIII* at p. 102 is not in accordance with that at p. 33). It may have been wiser to delay the publication a little for the sake of better illustrations and thorough proof-reading.

Sheila P. Girardon

Ch. Börker-J. Burow, *Die hellenistischen Amphorenstempel aus Pergamon, Pergamenische Forschungen 11*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin-New York, 1998. 60 pp., 6 ill., 40 pls. – ISBN 3-11-015621-0.

The 11th volume of the German Pergamon research is dedicated to Virginia Grace. In this volume 1407 of the about 1700 Hellenistic amphora and other stamps are published or republished. These stamps were excavated or found since 1886, during the German excavations at the site of Pergamon. The book is divided in two parts.

In the first part (page 1-69), Ch. Börker is republishing 606 of the about 900 amphora and pot-stamps which were found as filling material for the foundation of the Pergamon fortress (built probably after 175 BC.). In the second part (page 71-138), J. Burow describes the other stamps found at Pergamon. The finds from the fortress are called the 'Pergamon-complex'. The amphora and other stamps were excavated in 1886 and published by C. Schuchhardt in 1895 (C. Schuchhardt, *AvP*, VIII 2, 423-498). The largest amount is Rhodian stamps from the beginning of the 2nd century BC. The Thasian stamps in this collection are probably older, somewhere in the 3rd century BC. This can be explained by the fact that some of the filling material probably belonged to an already existing waste.

Most of the first part of the book is dedicated to a catalogue of all 606 stamps with separate plates. On each plate, stamps are photographed on a scale of 1:1. Besides the Rhodian stamps, the catalogue consists of Cnidian, Chian, Cosian, Sinopian (only one), stamps from Smyrna (strangely enough only two examples), stamps from the Hekataios group, from the Bakchios group, from the Parmeniskos group and a group of unknown provenance (probably containing stamps from Samothrace and possible colonies from the Black Sea coast).

The second part of the book is by J. Burow and describes another 801 stamps from Pergamon city, most of them probably not from the 'Pergamon complex'. The finds range from about 20 old (1883) to relatively new (1994) excavations or finds and sometimes just from the Berlin museum depot. Not all are amphora-stamps; some are stamps on the handles of cooking-pots or the walls of pots. There are even some Roman and Byzantine stamps among the collection. About 84% of the stamps are of known provenance but the conditions under which they were found were mostly superficial and inaccurate described. Most of earlier finds are now in a very bad condition.

Half of this collection (about 400) is Rhodian stamps while another 100 are from Chios and again about 100 are of unknown provenance. The other 200 stamps are from Thasos, Cnidos, Cos, Chios, Chersonesus (only one), Paros (only one), Sinope (only one), Smyrna (again only one and several from the Nikandros and Bakchios groups. From the unknown category, probably several stamps are from Samothrace.

It's interesting that so few stamps from the Black Sea area are found in Pergamon. Only two from Sinope and one from Chersonesus, none from Heracleia Pontica. This can give important negative evidence about the kind of products from the Black Sea area, being imported on the Ionian coast in the 3rd-2nd century BC.

Also interesting are the few stamps from Smyrna, confirming again that Smyrna never really belonged to the Ionian commonwealth (C. Roebuck, *Ionian trade and colonization*, Chicago, 1984, p. 28).

The excellent quality of the book and the photographs makes it extremely valuable as a source of information on Hellenistic economic history. Together with the stamps from Histria, which were recently published (*Histria* 8, 1-2, *Les Timbres Amphoriques*, Bucharest, 1996), these pub-

lications are a new and important factor to detect ancient trade routes in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea and necessary for a better understanding of a nowadays sometimes-neglected part of the economic history of the ancient world.

This is extremely important as, till recently, most publications on the subject of amphora-stamps, like those of I.B. Zeest and J.B. Brashinsky were written in the Russian language and anyway hardly attainable to many scholars working in this field.

One can only wish that, one-day, the amphora-stamps of the Athenian Agora will be republished in this way.

Jan G. de Boer

DANIEL GRAEPLER, *Tonfiguren im Grab. Fundkontexte hellenistischer Terrakotten aus der Nekropole von Tarent*. München, Biering & Brinkman 1997. 320 pp., 293 figs.; 31.5 cm. – ISBN 3-930609-13-2.

Graepler's *Tonfiguren im Grab* is a truly magnificent book. It is well edited and lavishly illustrated. Of course, it is even more important that the contents are good. The book, moreover, offers more than the title suggests. It contains a thorough analysis of a considerable number of tombs containing, among other objects, terracotta statuettes. The tombs, dating between the 4th and the 1st century BC, were all found at the Greek *apoikia* of Taranto in southern Italy. On the basis of the analysis three main points are discussed: the chronology of the Taranto tombs, the grave rituals and the iconography of the terracottas. To each of these topics a substantial chapter is dedicated. That means that not all the ins and outs of the Hellenistic graves of Taranto containing terracottas are studied into detail. But Graepler's contribution to a better understanding of the Taranto graveyard is substantial, especially if we take into account that the book grew from a doctoral thesis.

In the introduction the author proclaims his aims, but their true character remains a bit unclear. It is obvious that Graepler started by studying terracottas in Tarantine graves, that he wrote a book dealing basically with the c. 230 Tarantine graves containing terracottas, but he displays the tendency – often implicitly – to give general lines concerning the 'tarentinische Grabkultur', consisting of more than 11.715 tombs (p. 45) of which the vast majority dates to the Hellenistic period. This notwithstanding the fact that he is perfectly aware of the methodical incorrectness of making such generalizations based exclusively on graves with terracotta statuettes (p. 10: '*Ist es sinnvoll, ja ist es überhaupt legitim ...*'). Graepler openly professes that terracottas were '*eine für ganz bestimmte Gruppen von Verstorbenen verwendete Beigabengattung*'. The analysis of the tombs with terracottas, therefore, give us some insight in a relatively small sample: a (part of a?) specific group of Tarantines.

The first substantial chapter deals with the chronological problems (p. 55-147). It is generally known that the pottery chronologies of many parts of the Mediterranean are defective or even completely absent for the Hellenistic

period. Graepler starts by gunning down a series of distinguished scholars who wrote on Tarantine ceramics of the period under discussion. Cambitoglou, Green, Trendall and Webster are among the *cadaveri eccelenti*. Although Graepler's criticism is often to the point, it could have been aired with considerably more subtlety. This notwithstanding, the chapter is an important contribution to a chronological framework for the late 4th, 3rd and 2nd centuries BC in southeastern Italy. The evidence adduced there is corroborated by the results of the stratigraphical settlement excavations at my own cherished Valesio near Brindisi (in press). There is, therefore, reason to assume that the chronological framework published in Graepler's book is more or less correct. The chapter, however, may well convey the impression that Graepler was a lonely pioneer in the field of Hellenistic chronology of southeastern Italy. It should be remembered that the framework was drawn up in a cooperation between German researchers and the archaeologists of the Taranto *Soprintendenza*. A first outline of this framework can, for instance, be derived from the exhibition catalogue *Gli Ori di Taranto in età ellenistica* (Milan, 1984). Enzo Lippolis' important contribution in this respect is somewhat veiled (see note 184 on p. 82: *La necropoli ellenistica: problemi di classificazione e cronologia dei materiali*, in: *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Taranto*, vol. III.1, Taranto 1994). Moreover, at least 8 publications that are highly relevant to subjects discussed in the chapter and that appeared between 1985 and 1995, are not quoted and are mostly missing in the bibliography.

The following chapter is about funerary rituals (pp. 149-193). In this chapter again some scholars of great repute sustain damage. The main victims in this chapter are Margot Schmidt (p. 151/152) and Konrad Schauenburg (p. 159) who are both ranged among those who liberally proliferated ill-founded hypotheses. Although Graepler's approach is definitely more systematic than that of his victims, he is not entirely free from some distinctly odd views of comparable nature [e.g., his association between net lekythos and sakkos, p. 165: *'Es kann jedoch auf die auffällige Parallele als weiblich-hochzeitliche Sphäre charakterisiert werden kann'*; the idea that a slight shift in burial gifts (more eastern-Mediterranean shapes) in the early 2nd century BC could perhaps occur more easily because the Romans had 'destroyed the democratic polis identity when they reconquered Taranto in the second Punic War', p. 190: *'Das zweifellos von aussen ..., leichter Bahn brechen'*].

The chapter on the iconography and the function of the terracottas, again, contains a lot of good things. Some promising lines for further research are sketched, some other topics are not, or only marginally touched upon. The sudden increase of patently Dionysiac terracottas in the graves of the late 3rd and earlier 2nd century BC, for instance, is very conspicuous, but goes basically unnoticed. One may well ask whether this phenomenon was in some way related to the harsh treatment the Tarantines received when their town was reconquered by the Romans in 209 during the second Punic war. It goes probably too far to view these overtly Dionysiac statuettes as a symbols of an anti-Roman attitude, but it is at least attractive to query other types of evidence in order to see whether their

increased use in graves could probably be viewed as one of the ways in which the Tarantines were stressing their Tarantine/Greek identity in times of sorrow. The Roman *senatus consultum de bacchanalibus* of 186 BC and the harsh measures taken at Taranto in 184 and 181 BC in which various 'Dionysiac' activities were severely repressed (Livy, books XXXIX and XL), could well be other pieces of same the puzzle. They show that the Roman politicians of the early 2nd century BC developed pronounced anti-Dionysiac feelings which concentrated on Taranto; they must have had their political reasons to do so. One may well ask whether the Dionysiac cult societies of Taranto and other parts of southern Italy were breeding-grounds for anti-Roman feelings and discontent. Graepler's *Tonfiguren im Grab* is in many respects a good or even excellent book, a real *Fundgrube* for those interested in the the chronological framework of Hellenistic southern Italy, Tarantine terracottas and various aspects of Tarantine funerary customs. But some respect for, and a better understanding of earlier generations of archaeologists and their theoretical frameworks would have made the book considerably less polemical.

Douwe Yntema

The Athenian Agora: Results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. Vol XXIX: Hellenistic Pottery. Athenian and imported wheelmade table ware and related material, ed. by Susan I. Rotroff. Princeton, NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1997. 2 Vols., 516 pp., 106 figs., 148 pls.; 31 cm – ISBN 0-87661-229-X. – \$ 175,-.

Greek pots with elaborate painted decoration have been intensely studied by archaeologists. This type of Morellian, connoisseur-like research almost grew into a mania in the 1960's and has spawned a huge bibliography consisting of books and articles discussing all kind of stylistical and iconographical features of Greek pots. Beazley's volumes on Attic Black and Red Figured and Trendall's books on various classes of Italiote painted wares are milestones in this field of research.

By now, such studies are no longer considered to be front-line research. But this does not mean that that such type of research should not be done anymore, nor that the results obtained in the past can be neglected. They are among the richest and most important data bases in Mediterranean archaeology and can still be effectively tapped for various non-ceramic types of research.

Less lavishly decorated wares have sometimes received a comparable treatment. Here, too, the analysis of stylistical features was one of the main bases for the typo-chronological frameworks produced for these classes. Hands have been recognized in, for instance, Apulian Gnathia (e.g. Webster, Green) and Hadra hydriae (e.g. Callaghan, Enklaar), but for such classes of simply decorated wares the Morelli-based Beazley/Trendall approach appears to be inadequate. It is, for instance, highly questionable whether the pots assigned to the Rose Painter of Apulian Gnathia were really made by one single man or a closely

knit group of contemporary potters. In studies of more sparsely decorated ceramics of, for instance, the Hellenistic Age style cannot be the main guiding principle for the construction of a solid typo-chronological framework. A seriation based on well-dated, closed contexts and other types of stratigraphical information is, therefore, the basic tool in order to get some grip on the evolution and chronology of such ceramics. This type of information, for instance, is crucial to the interpretation of field surveys: the fragments of sparsely decorated pottery sherds (e.g. Hellenistic Black Gloss wares) recovered during this type of field work can only be dated by means of good typo-chronologies.

In this particular field of research Suzan Rotroff has produced an admirable piece of work. Her most recent Agora volume discusses mainly Athenian Black Gloss and its close relative, generally indicated as West Slope wares. Both are often seen as different classes, but Rotroff rightly presents them together: they display approximately the same range of forms with the same chronology and can often be taken to have been made in the same workshops. The typological and chronological information on these wares is clear, well-defined and can easily be used by those who are not intimately acquainted with all the ins and outs of the ancient ceramic landscape.

The merits of Rotroff's book on the Hellenistic table wares from the Athenian Agora, however, go far beyond that of a decent typo-chronology. There is, for instance, an excellent discussion on the significance and dating of a series of important Hellenistic contexts in the eastern Mediterranean (e.g., Olynthos, Koroni, Chatby) in which old and new ideas have been carefully weighed. Several groups of non-Athenian wares have also been included (e.g., the Cretan Hadra hydriae, the Micro-Asiatic Lagynos ware, Grey wares from Cnidos).

The importance of a good book on the dating of Athenian Hellenistic wares can hardly be underestimated. The Hellenistic period was the time in which large Hellenistic states had replaced the Greek poleis and Greece became incorporated in the Roman state. To those who wish to study the effects of these far-reaching changes on the various Greek societies at close quarters the presence of a good chronological framework for the most common household ceramics is rather essential.

Rotroff's book is a mine of facts, figures and ideas on the Hellenistic wares of the Agora, often put into the much wider perspective of the eastern Mediterranean. But it runs the risk of being misused by archaeologists publishing ceramics from other parts of Greece or Asia Minor. It may well have the same brutal fate as the volume made by Sparkes and Talcott's on the archaic and classical black gloss wares of the Athenian Agora (vol. XIII): this book has been incorrectly used to date all kinds of evidently regional black gloss from, for instance, France and Italy. The regional black gloss wares of these areas – although often deriving from Attic Black Gloss of the earlier 5th century – evolved in very different ways (and each in its own way), when the exports of Attic Black Gloss grew into a trickle in the late 5th century BC. The variety and evolution of Athenian Hellenistic forms may well differ substantially from those in e.g. Micro-Asiatic Pergamum or Syrian Antiochia-on-the-Orontes. It was

certainly different from those of the regional black gloss wares of the western Mediterranean.

In her introduction Rotroff confesses that the Hellenistic Pottery of the Agora has been the organizing principle of her life for the past twenty years. And that shows in the book discussed here. This is exactly what makes it attractive, accessible and useful. It offers no grand vistas on Hellenistic pottery in general. It is Rotroff's intimate knowledge of the Agora pots and fragments against the background of her good insight into the ceramics of the Hellenistic Age in general that makes her new volume on the Hellenistic fine wares of the Athenian Agora a monument in the study of Hellenistic pottery.

Douwe Yntema

MICHEL BATS (ed.), *Les céramiques communes de Campanie et de Narbonnaise (Ier s.av.J.-C.-IIe s.ap.J.-C.). La vaisselle de cuisine et de table*. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard, 1996. 494 pp., figs.; 28 cm (Collection de Centre Jean Bérard, 14). – ISBN 2-903189-52-8.

The volume *Les céramiques communes de Campanie et de Narbonnaise* contains the papers read at a symposium held at Naples in 1994. The subtitle indicates that the term 'céramiques communes' should be understood as kitchen and table ware. The time span chosen for this symposium is the first century BC and the first and second century AD. Why these chronological limits were chosen, remains unclear. The symposium was organized by the French *Centre Jean Bérard* at Italian Naples and that explains probably why Campania and Narbonnensis were chosen as the geographical delimitation of the studies. If there was a special ceramic link between both areas, the volume fails to demonstrate it. *Les céramiques communes* contains the papers by 23 authors: there are 11 reports on Campanian finds, 7 reports on ceramics from southern France, a good introduction by Clementina Panella and a series of *remarques finales* by Michel Bats.

The volume is well edited and is illustrated by a very large number of highly legible drawings of pots and pans. It is *not* a must for those who are interested in sweeping statements and dashing ceramic panoramas. Most of the contributions concern the publication and morphological analysis of ceramics from a particular findspot (e.g. Ercolano, Benevento, Marseille, Fréjus). Each of these is interesting in its own right and supplies some pieces of the large puzzle of the late-Republican/early Imperial Roman *céramiques communes*. In addition to these papers on sites there are good articles by Gabriella Gasperetti and Vincenzo Di Giovanni that show how the Campanian archaeologists are devising typo-chronologies in such a way that they can provide codes for storage in d-base systems. Equally interesting is the publication of a series of wasters from a Pompeian-Red ware kiln at Campanian *Cumae* (E. Chiosi, Cuma: una produzione di ceramica a vernice rossa interna). A good article entitled '*Ceramica comune da Ostia*' by Caterina Maria Coletti and Carlo Pavolini seems a bit out of place in a volume on Campania and Narbonnensis. It demonstrates in a very lucid way the

steep rise of African wares and the enormous decline of the local ceramic production (Rome and surrounding area) between 70 and 190 AD. Whilst local workshops account for c. 55% (against c. 30% African) of the kitchen wares in Flavian and Trajanic contexts, their share has dropped to a poor 16% (against 56% African) during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

The most surprising aspect of *Les céramiques communes* is that the vast majority of papers collected in this volume, shows hardly any awareness of approaches other than chrono-typological analysis. It is exclusively in Gloria Olcese's article (*Ceramiche comuni di origine tirrenica centro-meridionale ad Albintimilium*) that archaeometrical analyses play a substantial role. But although it is perfectly clear that some Campanian cooking pots made during the period under discussion were widely diffused in the Mediterranean (Pompeian-Red wares, grey-coated casseroles with forked rim from Campania), distribution and consumer models are not discussed. There is, moreover, nothing that looks like an ethno-archaeological approach.

Les céramiques communes is mainly (and probably means to be) a collection of solid pieces of research in the well-established typo-chronological tradition. It is certainly a useful addition to the studies of the too much neglected, esthetically poor, but highly functional kitchen wares which always played an important role in the every-day life of people living in the past.

Even after Bats' *remarques finales* the exact definition of the term *céramiques communes* remains unclear. The contents of the various papers demonstrate that the term is mainly applied to undecorated plain wares with light-coloured clays (mostly jugs and thick-walled mortaria) and various types of cooking wares (*ceramica da fuoco* in Italian) with heavily tempered brown to dark grey clays.

Douwe Yntema

JANE FEJFER, *The Ince Blundell Collection of Classical Sculpture, Vol. I. The Portraits, Part 2, The Roman Male Portraits*. Liverpool: University Press, 1998. 238 pp., figs., 117 pls.; 32 cm. ISBN 0-85323-832-4. — £ 60, -.

This is the second volume of a set of catalogues publishing the enormous collection of antiquities brought together in the late 18th century by Henry Blundell, now in the National Museums & Galleries on Merseyside at Liverpool. The cat. nos. 1-42 are antique Roman male heads, cat. nos. 43-57 are fakes and forgeries, including pieces long considered antique. Cat. no. 58 portrays Winckelmann, but was bought as an antique piece. In a long introduction (p. 1-18) Fejfer gives an excellent overview of the problems concerning the fortune of galleries of antique *virī illustres* displayed in country houses. As she correctly observes, it is not correct to single out the 'bad' fakes or forgeries, as they form an important part of the set. Therefore, she discusses them as thoroughly as the Roman portraits. Among the characteristics of the 18th-century collections are the absence of (copies of) Greek heads, the severe reworking of the surface, the integration of missing elements, by which the heads change considerably, and the deliberate

acquisition of modern pieces to fill the gaps of missing emperors in a series of originals. Several heads stem from Cavaceppi's shop and got many blows of his chisel. Hitherto not systematically observed is the effect of acids in the modern treatment of the surface (see p. 8 with ill.). Fejfer discusses the differentiation one must make within the bulk of baroque and classicist 'remakes': copies (those filling in the gaps, e.g. cat. no. 47, Lucius Verus by Carlo Albacini after a portrait, now in the Louvre), remakes ('Vitellius' cat. no. 56 of which 60 examples are known) and forgeries/fakes (Caesar cat. no. 55 after 'Caesar Casali'). The distinction in the latter two categories is not clear, but most heads were purchased as genuine pieces and show 'restorations' and 'integrations', sometimes with antique elements. Pieces made in the 17th century as modern (e.g. porphyry busts of 'Marius' and 'Sulla' cat. nos. 44-45) were thought to be antique one century later! Fejfer offers some important reflections about the methodology of portrait identifications and dating, both in the introduction and the entries. Many absolute chronologies of types, based on the sequence of specific events within the career of an emperor are often quite tentative but have nonetheless become 'facts'. We ought to take into consideration factors like place of production (Rome or periphery), consumers, display, deification, and technique (industrial products). The use of coins as parallel frequently proves to be highly problematical. A new type was not necessarily created because of a historical highlight. Fejfer gives clear examples illustrating this misunderstanding, e.g. cat. no. 31, Marcus Aurelius.

The 58 entries always contain Blundell's own description and, if available, that of the former collector (esp. Mattei in Rome), to which the Blundell and Mattei engravings are added. In several cases a new drawing shows the modern additions. The excellent photographs are lavish: a big image on the left page and four sides on the right page; the black background is rather hard. Specifications of the marble sources are rare (e.g. cat. no. 35); apparently no analyses could be made. Fejfer's discussion immediately follows her descriptions of the pieces, which sometimes is confusing, as the opinion of the author becomes mixed up with the general observations. The discussions betray an excellent eye for style and treatment of the stone, both from antiquity and later times. The following are some comments on a couple of entries.

Cat. no. 8: I don't see how it could have been a herm instead of a bust. The hard treatment of the hair seems a Tetrarchic elaboration and contrasts with the soft rendering of the face. This is definitely not one of the famous Hellenistic 'bald' heads. Cat. no. 11: child's head; to me this is a girl rather than a boy, although Fejfer in note 3 rightly stresses the difficulty of establishing the gender of children's portraits. The hair is not combed forward, as described, but resembles the 'Melonenfrisur' and is certainly not male. Cat. no. 14: the sunken mouth is a characteristic of elderly people. Why does no one ever mention that gentlemen such as this one have lost their teeth? It is an element of the 'verism' revival in the late Flavian and Trajanic period. Cat. no. 20: Trajanic head of boy as Mercury. Blundell had not recognized the portrait features and labelled it as the god himself. The entry lucidly deals with the problem of the function: sepulchral (*consecratio in formam deorum*) or private, aiming at prosperity in the

future. To the numerous examples in sculpture one can add the painting in the House of M. Lucretius Fronto at Pompeii as an example in private context, the nature of which is disputed as well (W.J.Th. Peters, *La Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto e le sue pitture*, Amsterdam 1993, 336-339: posthumous portrait; P. Zanker, in R.F. Docter/E.M. Moormann (eds.), *Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Amsterdam 1998*, Amsterdam 1999, 40-48, pl. 1-2: prosperity). Cat. no. 23: inconsistencies between two sides of the head: the left profile shows a much younger man (the calculated forties are too old). The hairdo resembles that of cat. no. 24, dated to the Trajanic era, I should prefer some decades later for both heads, esp. because of the thick mass of hair. Cat. no. 25: the author doesn't make clear what 'provincial' traits can be discerned. Cat. no. 31: superb hair mass of Commodus. Fejfer objects to the dating proposal by Fittschen (177-180, age 16-19); to her arguments one may add that the portrait shows a boy, not an adolescent! Cat. nos. 35 and 36 are copies of the well-known Serapis portrait of Septimius Severus. Cat. no. 36, however, is a parallel only as to the hairdo. The face is differently modelled. Cat. no. 58: this is indeed Winckelmann. See comparable heads published by A. Schulz, esp. those by F.W. Doehl around 1782 (*Die Bildnisse Johann Joachim Winckelmanns*, Berlin 1953, 32-33, fig. 26-29). The text was given to the editor in 1993 but not printed until 1998; only few references to publications from the five intervening years could be included and several studies 'in press' have come out already. However, the reader rarely finds gaps in the author's knowledge on antique portraiture. All in all, the book is a very fine catalogue that may serve the study of both antique heads and 'Antikenrezeption' in a very broad sense.

Eric M. Moormann

PAOLA BALDASSARRI, *ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙ. Edilizia monumentale ad Atene durante il Saeculum Augustum*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1998. 282 pp., 51 figs., 59 pls.; 32 cm (Archaeologica, 124). – ISBN 88-7689-134-X.

Whereas Rome's Augustan past has been studied thoroughly during the past three decades, Athens had long to make do with P. Graindor's excellent monograph of 1927. Simultaneously, now there are Baldassarri's study and a Michigan PhD by G.C.R. Schmalz from 1994 on more or less the same topic (the latter is only mentioned, with thanks, p. 218 n. 6). Apparently Baldassarri's book was sent to press in 1996; no later literature has been included. It has three parts: historical discussion, study of the monuments, and conclusion. The historical essay shows how little we know about the contacts between Augustus and Athens. The emperor probably visited Athens immediately after the victory at Actium, fall 31, and at the beginning and the end of his long journey into the East, 22 and 20-19 respectively. As so often, Athens had chosen, allying itself first with Caesar's assassins, later with Marc Antony. Nonetheless Augustus forgave the city and granted considerable rights. The reason for the rather cool relationship between 30 and 20 is unclear; maybe Athens suffered, like other cities, from the generally deteriorat-

ing situation and the emperor's misfortune (revolutionary movements in the whole empire, death of Marcellus, own illness), but the year 19 was propitious for both parties. It may be that Augustus met Virgil at Athens before the poet's departure (and death) to Brindisi, in September of that year. Drusus, Gaius, Lucius, and, especially, Agrippa had a positive relationship with Athens as well; Tiberius seems to have remained rather cold, favouring Sparta and Rhodes (p. 34-35). In sum, Athens did not play a major role in the Augustus' life and work.

The main part of the book contains the discussion of monuments; Baldassarri uses the term 'Catalogo', but the chapter is not organised like that. There is a logical division into topographical nuclei: Acropolis, Roman Agora, classical Agora. Zones such as the Kerameikos, are omitted as no instances of Augustan interventions are known (cf. p. 263). Both the emperor and local politicians would chose spots in the same way their forerunners had done. Baldassarri notes the parallelism with Rome itself: similar clusters are the Capitol, the Forums of Caesar and Augustus, and the Forum Romanum. Like the latter, the classical Agora was urbanistically reorganised in the Augustan era by building Agrippa's Odeion and some stoa's and re-erecting monuments like the Temple and Altar of Ares. The builders sought continuity in history: like the 5th-century Athenians the Augustan ones were freed from barbarians (22-19 esp. the Parthian Wars). Augustus, Gaius and Agrippa obtained epitheta like *euergetes*, *soter*, and *neos* (Ares, Dionysos). Augustus tried to profit from comparison with Athens, not to impose his own political program on the classical town.

A clear example of continuity is the tholos in front of the Parthenon, dedicated to Augustus and Roma. A similar building was erected for Mars Ultor on the Capitol, to store the spolia provisorily (in fact, the Mars Ultor temple on the Forum Augustum took over these functions in 2 BC). The inscription still lies in front of the Athenian tholos and was seen as early as 1436 by Ciriaco da Ancona. The decoration of capitals and geison copy those of the Erechtheion; Baldassarri makes clear (p. 62-63, p. 235 with n. 21) that the same architect (Diogenes?) who constructed the monopteros also restored the Erechtheion. By choosing this location, in front of the Parthenon's entrance, Augustus challenged the old venerated inhabitant of the Acropolis and implicitly wanted to be seen as a new Themistokles.

Less clear is why Augustus should have added a propylon to the shrine of Asklepios on the Acropolis' slope, if not by associating it with Aesculapius' cult favoured simultaneously in Rome (p. 71). It seems more likely that this was a local intervention dedicated by Athenians to the emperor. Baldassarri does not give a precise definition of the term 'Augustan'. Monuments erected by the emperor himself or in his name, as well as those built by citizens to honour him, are dealt with in the same way. In this case, the inscription was erased later, which Baldassarri tries to explain from changes in the late 2nd century. In my view, however, this annulment can better be connected with the construction of a church in late antiquity (see fig. 8b, Travlos' plan).

The Olympieion, a never ending project, mainly known for its Seleucid and Hadrianic interventions, has one capital dating to the Augustan period. This leads Baldassarri

to speculations, rather protracted, on the extent and nature of Augustus' interventions: was this (p. 82) the temple dedicated to the Genius Augusti of which Suetonius speaks or that on a coin with the text *Iovi Olvm*? The work, then, might have been executed by friend-kings of the emperor. As all speculations remain, alas, without sound foundations, I would rather think that the capital came from elsewhere and was used here in the Hadrianic period.

The Roman agora is a clear case of imperial city policy, although the first stone was laid under Pompey and much work was done in Caesar's time. The west gate had a portrait of Gaius Caesar; his brother could have been depicted at the opposite one (p. 106); these entrances are copies of Mnesikles' Propylaia to the Acropolis (p. 113). The combination of religious and commercial functions may have been copied over from the Forum Iulium at Rome.

The longest section deals with the Agora. A main intervention is the erection of Agrippa's Odeion, a mixture of the Hellenistic bouleuterion and the theatrum tectum (e.g. Pompeii). Italic elements are the opus sectile floor in the orchestra and the porticoes. Baldassarri considers the north entrance, facing the Tyrannicides, of little importance, but the excavation plan (fig. 17) shows an extremely heavy foundation, so that one may presume a rather monumental construction. Taking into account the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton and two other, older monuments standing at the Odeion's corners (for Alexander and his family and for the Ptolemies), one has to reconsider Pierre Gros' suggestion, rejected by Baldassarri (p. 126, n. 4), that a cult centre for the emperor's family could have been located here. The entrance may, in itself, have been secondary, but the architect sought to enhance the façade by adding a triumphal arch-like construction. After an earthquake in the late Antonine period the Odeion's function changed into that of a philosophers' hall, with reduced seating, 500 instead of 1000 places; the old function may, however, not have vanished entirely whereas the Odeion might have served before as philosophers' school as well (so Gros, again rejected on p. 258 n. 17).

Important monuments, which cannot be dealt with here in length, are the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, the temple and altar of Ares, the Altar of Zeus Agoraios (only tenuously connected with Augustus!), and temples at the NW (found in 1980), SE, and SW sides of the Agora. Baldassarri convincingly identifies the NW temple as that of Hermes, where Augustus could be 'venerated' as *Novus Mercurius* (interesting note 61, p. 196), carrying the *pax augusta* all over the world.

A short section is dedicated to restorations of older buildings such as the interventions in the Erechtheion mentioned above. The Conclusion contains many new insights. The buildings can be subdivided into categories of importance, the top level being that of the monopteros and the Odeion of Agrippa.

The text is well written, but burdened with too many long (though extremely rich) footnotes; they constitute more than the half of the text. The author apparently wants to display her immense literacy by quoting all publications on a determinate topic, even those which do not enter into the subject (e.g. p. 18-19 n. 68 on Athens' economical sit-

uation, p. 89 n. 60 on Persians, p. 134 n. 67-68 on opus sectile). The lack of indices is a more serious flaw: the richness of the text and notes are now only accessible by patient perusal and a rapid consultation is impossible. Most photographs are good (apparently by the author; no source given). All drawings are from previous publications, and one would like to have the original legenda added, on at least the numbers of the buildings discussed in the text. But in sum, the book is an outstanding contribution to the study of Augustus and Athens.

Eric M. Moormann

ROGER LING, *Stuccowork and Painting in Roman Italy*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999. 372 pp., 247 ill. and plans, 24.5 cm. (Variorum Collected Studies Series, 649). – ISBN 0-86078-786-9. – £ 75, -.

This volume contains twelve essays published between 1966 and 1995 by a well-known scholar in the field of Roman art, especially the art of central Italy. The texts are no *disiecta membra*: they present themselves like a real book with twelve chapters. The nos. II-VI discuss stucco reliefs in Roman tombs at Pozzuoli and in the imperial complexes at Baiae, a topic which Ling had dealt with in his unpublished PhD. The research starts with fragments in British collections, especially the Victoria and Albert Museum and the British Museum and extend to the documentation of remains at Pozzuoli and Baiae. Some remarks on the history of collection precede the analysis of the fragments themselves, which are nearly all dated to the late 1st or early 2nd centuries AD. Some texts coincide with the research carried out simultaneously and independently by Harald Mielsch, as is made clear in references in some notes (studies by the third scholar in the matter of stucco, Nicole Blanc, do not cover the same topics). I should add here text n. X, in which other fragments in the Victoria and Albert Museum are discussed: they partly belong to the same context. Here we find fragments of painting for the first time, which bring us to the second field of Ling's research, Roman mural painting. In his first publications, Ling devotionally follows the great Karl Schefold as to the chronology of the four Pompeian styles (especially problematical, as we have known for the past four decades, in the case of the fourth style that Schefold considered to be a Neronian creation). In later work, e.g. in his handbook *Roman Painting* (Cambridge 1991), he has liberated himself from this master (one must note that Ling has virtually no counterpart in this field in Britain) and takes his own positions. Another legacy of scholarly tradition regards the analysis of decorative elements in the tomb stuccoes at Pozzuoli: he follows uncritically Franz Cumont and (then new!) Bernhard Andreae, seeing a mass of funerary symbolism everywhere. Insofar as this is criticism, it is worth noting that Ling comments on this attitude himself in his preface (being an excellent critic, with a rich production of review articles and short notes, he criticises the volume himself!). So we learn the academic development of an honest scholar. The text on the Colombarium Doria Pamphili at Rome from 1993 for instance shows an entirely different approach: apart from *Ocnus* no figural motif, both narrative and ornamental,

underlines the function of the room as a tomb. The generic character of the figural themes may serve, I should say, to leave the decoration neutral for the clients, aiming at the heterogeneous character of the dead, members of the *sodalitas* that had ordered the monument.

One essay fits well with the young Anglo-Saxon tradition of the anthropological archaeology, viz. no. XII on the decoration of triclinia from 1995: here again one finds an almost complete negation of the relationship between decoration and function of the room. The text perhaps remains at the stage of a first step. Two contributions on iconographical themes (on so-called gymnasium rollers from 1971, and Hylas in Pompeian art from 1979) treat in more detail certain figural elements presented briefly in Ling's previous studies on the unpublished fragments. The article which has had been quoted most frequently among these collected essays is no. VIII of 1977 on the painter Studius and the invention of landscape painting; here Ling also shows that he is a gifted linguist.

All texts are well organised and Ling does not tax his readers with *excursus* or by demonstrating his vast literacy. The pictorial documentation could have been better (some unpublished fragments are not illustrated, for instance), but this may be due to the limited possibilities of the museums or the sites, not to speak of the specific rules of periodicals.

Ling stresses in his preface that he did not want to change texts nor write an addendum, which, at first sight, I found regrettable. Upon consideration, however, I believe that the essays stand as they are and that the reader can draw his own conclusions, like Ling does in his preface. Furthermore, most contributions that present unknown material are not problematical at all and the last two pieces are still too fresh to have called for discussion (apart from the Colombarium mentioned: cf. R.J. King, in D. Scagliarini Corlàita (ed.), *I temi figurativi nella pittura parietale antica*, Bologna 1997, 77-80). It would be easy to compose another volume of Ling's essays, especially with those on Roman painting in the provinces. The book as such is pure luxury in the sense that the texts can be found rather easily, being published in mayor periodicals and series (*BSR*, *JRA*, *BABesch* Supplement), but in the same time it has become a unity.

Eric M. Moormann

PAOLO CARAFA, *Il comizio di Roma dalle origini all'età di Augusto*. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1998. 193 pp., 101 figs.; 29 cm (Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma. Supplementi, 5). – ISBN 88-8265-003-0. – LIT 231.000.

When the tribes of the Romans came together in the Comitium, in the time of the Kings and the early Republic, some three thousand free men had to be accommodated. Not seated, but standing they received foreign diplomats and took decisions on legislation, lawsuits and war. Paolo Carafa reconstructs the area on the basis of the archaeological investigations by Giacomo Boni (1899-1900), Pietro Romanelli (1954) and Maria Floriani Squarciapino

(1955-1961), never documented before. He calculates the area at 730 m² which could accommodate the number quite precisely. This detail (p. 140) is one of the many important discoveries Carafa offers the reader during his *iter* through time and space, in a place where nearly nothing is visible any longer, but which was the focus of Roman political life until the late Republic. When one strolls around this part of the Forum today, one sees the Lapis Niger and knows that under it the cippus with its old inscription is hidden (in copy nowadays). After reading this monograph, the stroller also knows the sequence of all layers from the middle of the 8th century onwards and has a chronological scheme which corresponds strikingly (too strikingly perhaps) with the series of seven Kings. Carafa does not waste his ink on the scholarly debate on the credibility of the early history as known from late-Republican sources but, as a true student of Andrea Carandini, matches archaeological evidence with history, true and legendary. Hence his remark (p. 143-144) on the 5th to 3rd centuries, but in fact pertaining to the entire history: 'In questo Comizio ... dobbiamo immaginare che abbiano avuto luogo tutti gli avvenimenti ricordati dalla tradizione letteraria.' As no other, he knows to reconstruct the complex stratigraphy, correcting almost everywhere his forerunners like Gjerstad, on the basis of his sound knowledge of ceramics (frequently citing, for clear reasons, his own study on the ceramics of the Archaic period).

He rehabilitates Giacomo Boni as a scrupulous worker and eminent excavator, who because of the immense burden of excavating almost the entire Forum Romanum, did not get the rest and time to publish his results (for another reappraisal, see A. Rathje/I. Van Kampen, in *Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, Amsterdam 1999, 317-319). This image of impeccability is open to criticism, however, and here Carafa is too positive (or positivistic) in his otherwise critical assessments: Boni's work was biased by a strongly ideological and political programme and the excavator could have known beforehand that documentation and publication by one single person (signor Boni himself) of such a vast project would be impossible.

The book is subdivided into two big sections, following an introduction on the history of the research and the programme of this book. In the rather technical first part the stratigraphies of the former excavators are reconstructed, their finds (rarely published or republished) are analysed and, combining the two, a chronological sequence is proposed. The second part forms a historical essay in which the literary and archaeological evidence are put together and from which the image I sketched above arises. Apart from the profound knowledge of the material found in the old excavations, Carafa shows a great skill in managing the texts and the modern discussion (starting as early as the mid 16th century!). Most discussion on the archaic matters on the Roman forum is done in Italian (A. Ammerman being a good exception), following the sacrosanct discipline of 'topografia romana' and it has to be feared that this new somewhat in-crowd-written essay does not go beyond the borders of Italian scholarship. Therefore, the 'Conclusion', which gives a clear summary, should have been published in a second language

as well for the convenience of the foreign readers. The remark on the Salii, acting in the Comitium (p. 35), is not worked out, as seems to be promised.

The Comitium was an irregular open space, at the north separated from the Curia Hostilia and the Tribunal by the Via sacra. At the west the Graecostasis and Volcanal were located, whereas the south-eastern border contained the rostra, the inscribed cippus and the column. It was never made square (to become a templum) or round, and vanished during the radical interventions of Caesar (the supposed activities of Sulla are more or less discounted by Carafa) when the new Curia was built and the open space repaved. The old monuments of the Volcanal, rostra and cippus were restyled or adapted to the new setting. Without becoming an unkind critic, Carafa annuls a lot of old 'fixed' opinions, and, as elsewhere, it is notably the immense work of Gjerstad which is entirely dismantled. The readers of former studies now have to take into account this important work. One negative point: there are numerous printing errors in both text and bibliography (p. 149 *opus Laecedomone* is nonsense: meant is *Lacedaemone*, 'in Sparta', not a wooden panelling).

Eric M. Moormann

R. BONIFACIO, *Ritratti romani da Pompei*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1997. 146 pp., 44 pls.; 30 cm (Archaeologica 123 = Archaeologia Perusina, 14). – ISBN 88-7689-132-3.

With the present book Raffaella Bonifacio finally brings us an update of the basic study by Alfonso de Franciscis of the Roman portraits from Pompeii. (*Il ritratto romano a Pompei*, Naples 1951 – hereafter: DF). Bonifacio discusses mainly the origin and context of the portraits, and groups them according to their function, unlike DF, who treated them chronologically. In her classification she uses 3 typologies: honorific portraits, funerary portraits, and private portraits. *Honorific portraits* (cat.nos. 1-12) are portraits displayed in public places, either for special reasons or simply for glorification of the portrayed person. *Funerary portraits* (cat.nos. 13-30) show the deceased either as a private person (an individual or a member of a family), or as a citizen with certain social merits. In the *portraits from private houses* (cat.nos. 31-44) B. searches for identifications of the portraits and for a possible coherence in their context. The last category she distinguishes (cat.nos. 45-52) are the portraits whose findspot in Pompeii is uncertain.

As the group of portraits discussed by B. and DF is almost exactly the same, it seemed wise to give here, by way of illustration, a concordance between the two studies, indicating the differences in dating (marked with 'D') and in identification (marked with 'I').

B. (cat.nr.)	DF (fig.)	Difference
1	14/15	D
2	68/69	D
3	24/26	
4	42/43	I

5	40/41	I
6	30/31	I
7	21/23	
8	70/71	
9/10	—	
11	52/54	
12	72/73	
13	—	
14	6	
15/29	—	
30	4	D
31	—	
32	27	
33	12/13	
34	10/11	
35	16	
36	17/20	I
37	38/39	
38	46/47	D
39	7/8	D
40	44/45	
41	67	
42	56/58	
43	—	
44	48/49	D
45	32/33	I
46	28/29	
47	65/66	D
48	59/60	I
49	35/37	D
50	34	
51	63/64	I
52	50/51	

In general the book looks neat, with good plates and many recent references. Unfortunately, the names of some colleagues have been spelled erroneously: on pp. 109, 110, 127 and 138 ms. Furnée van Zwet is called 'Furnée van Zweet'; on p.74 R. Goette is written as 'R. Götte'; A. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta is sometimes referred to as 'A. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta' (p. 11) or only as 'A. Zadoks' (pp. 115-116). Furthermore, some of the numbers of figures of DF are reproduced wrongly: in cat. 8 are indicated figs. 170-171 – this must be 70/71; in cat. 30 fig. 40 must be 4; in cat. 41 figs. 68-69 must be fig. 67.

As an update of De Franciscis' study Bonifacio's book has succeeded. It is however a pity that B., like DF, considers the *sculptured* portrait to be the only form of Roman portraits. In this book about 'Roman portraits from Pompeii', there is no mention at all of the numerous portraits executed in a two-dimensional form, either in wall-paintings or in mosaic (cf. M. Nowicka, *Le portrait dans la peinture antique* (1993), pp.129-132; my article in *KölnJbVFrühGesch* 24 (1991), pp.165-169). A study of *all* the portrait material from Pompeii could have

formed the basis for an interesting discussion of the social function of the portrait in a small Roman town in a clearly defined period: Who used sculptured portraits and who used painted ones? In what contexts does each form

occur? Why was sculpture chosen as a medium? Of course, these questions could not be dealt with in an update of DF, but may not be ignored in a continuation.

Richard de Kind